Vol. LX—No. 4.

Assembly Proceedings

Official Report

Bengal Legislative Assembly

Eleventh Session, 1941

he 27th August, 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th September, 1941

BENGAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
Accn No 26
14 FEB 1942

Superintendent, Government Printing
Bengal Government Press, Alipore, Bengal
1941

GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL.

GOVERNOR OF BENGAL.

His Excellency SIR JOHN ARTHUR HERBERT, G.C.I.E.

MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS.

(1) The Hon'ble Mr. ABUL KASEM FAZLUL HUQ, in charge of the Education Department.

(2) The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN, K.C.I.E., in charge of the Home Department.

(3) The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY, in charge of the Revenue Department.

(4) The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca, in charge of Public Health (including Medical) and Local Self-Government Departments.

(5) The Hon'ble Maharaja SRIS CHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar, in charge of Communications and Works Department.

(6) The Hon'ble Mr. HUSEYAN SHAHEED SUHRAWARDY, in charge of Finance, Commerce and Labour Departments.

(7) The Hon'ble Nawab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN, Khan Bahadur, in charge of the Judicial and Legislative Departments.

(8) The Hon'ble Mr. PRASANNA DEB RAIKUT, in charge of the Forests and Excise Departments.

(9) The Hon'ble Mr. MUKUNDA BEHARY MULLICK, in charge of the Co-operative Credit and Rural Indebtedness Departments.

(10) The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN, in charge of Agriculture and Industries (including Veterinary) and Rural Reconstruction Departments.

GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL.

PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF THE BENGAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

SPEAKER.

The Hon'ble Sir MUHAMMAD AZIZUL HAQUE, C.I.E., Khan Bahadur.

DEPUTY SPEAKER.

M. ASHRAFALI, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

SECRETARY.

K. ALI AFZAL, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

FIRST ASSISTANT SECRETARY.

Rai N. N. SEN GUPTA Bahadur.

SECOND ASSISTANT SECRETARY.

Khan Sahib QUAZI MUHAMMAD SADRUL OLA

REGISTRAR.

A. B. CHATERJI, Esq.

THE BENGAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY PROCEEDINGS

Volume LX—No. 4.

(Official Report of the Eleventh Session.)

Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Wednesday, the 27th August, 1941, at 4-45 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Sir MUHAMMAD AZIZUL HAQUE, C.I.E., Khan Bahadur) in the Chair, 8 Hon'ble Ministers and 201 members.

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

Appointment of Special Officer in Co-operative Credit and Rural Indebtedness Department.

*92. **Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED KHONDKAR:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Co-operative Credit and Rural Indebtedness Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the ex-Registrar, Co-operative Department, was appointed Special Officer to draft rules under the Bengal Co-operative Societies Act, 1940?

(*b*) Is he still holding that office?

(*c*) If not, when did he make over charge?

(*d*) Who is now the Special Officer, if any, appointed in place of the ex-Registrar?

(*e*) When did he join and how long will he continue in office?

(*f*) Is the present incumbent a retired Government servant?

(*g*) Was he ever employed in the Co-operative Department?

(*h*) If the officer referred to in (*d*) is a non-Muslim, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reasons for replacing a Muslim officer by a non-Muslim?

MINISTER in charge of the CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT and RURAL INDEBTEDNESS DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. Mukunda Behary Mullick): (*a*), (*f*) and (*g*) Yes.

(*b*) No.

(*c*) On the 31st May, 1941.

(*d*) Mr. R. N. Roy, I.S.O.

(*e*) On the 2nd June, 1941. He will continue till the work is completed.

(*h*) The appointment was made solely on the ground of suitability.

Control in the rise of price of rice, paddy and other commodities.

*93. **Mr. ADWAITA KUMAR MAJI:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Commerce and Labour Department be pleased to state what steps the Government have taken to control the present price of rice, paddy and clothes in the Province?

(*b*) Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that prices of rice, paddy and clothes are going up day by day?

(*c*) Is the Hon'ble Minister considering the desirability of issuing any communique from time to time mentioning the prices of these commodities?

MINISTER in charge of the COMMERCE and LABOUR DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy): As regards the rise in price of cloth the honourable member is referred to two communiques on the subject issued by Government.

The Chief Controller of Prices has been holding consultations with the interests concerned and Government are in communication with the Government of India regarding the steps to control the price on an all-India basis. In the meantime it has been found necessary to prosecute three persons for gross profiteering.

As regards rice, the position of stocks in Bengal and the price of rice have been under constant consideration of Government. The price of rice has risen mainly for the following reasons:—

(1) the comparatively poor yield of rice in Bengal last year; and

(2) the rise in price of Burma rice.

As regards stocks, the position did cause anxiety earlier in the year when on account of the higher price of rice obtaining at Bombay and Cochin shippers imported rice for those areas in preference to Calcutta. Government then stepped in and held consultations with the importers and the Shipping Companies with the result that imports have since

been coming in steadily and the stock position has considerably improved. From 1 lakh of maunds Government have been able to increase the stocks to about 10 lakhs of maunds now in the Calcutta markets alone.

Enquiries into prices obtaining in Calcutta as well as mufassal are regularly made to see that there is no profiteering on the part of the dealers. Weekly advice of prices in Calcutta is circulated to District Officers so that they may work out a fair price for their districts after adding the usual freight charges and a small profit never exceeding 5 per cent. for the local dealers.

Early last month information was received that the Government of Burma had placed an embargo on the export of rice from Aracan Division on account of the local shortage of rice there. The variety of rice exported from Aracan has been very popular in East Bengal. This Government forthwith made representations to the Government of India as well as to the Government of Burma that this embargo would worsen the rice position in the Province, and the result was that in response to these representations the Government of Burma lifted the embargo on the export of rice with effect from the 25th of July.

The price of rice has dropped considerably, and the latest figures for Burma rice is Rs.5-1 per maund. The stocks now are sufficient. If there is difficulty in securing rice in any part of the Province the assistance of the Chief Controller of Prices may at once be asked for to arrange supply of rice there.

Communiques to explain the position are issued by Government from time to time and the public have also been advised that they should not hesitate to make any complaint for profiteering to the District Officers or to the Office of the Chief Controller of Prices as may be convenient. These officers have instructions to look into every complaint carefully to stamp out profiteering.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: In paragraph 2 of his reply the Hon'ble Minister states "in the meantime it has been found necessary to prosecute three persons for gross profiteering". Will he kindly state whether these people have been prosecuted for profiteering in rice, paddy or cloth?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: In cloth.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister please state what is the present price of Burma rice?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: I am not in possession of the latest figures.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware of the fact that the price has gone up?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: No, Sir, nor is the honourable member in possession of the information that the price has gone down.

Mr. SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY: Will the Hon'ble Minister please state whether this Government has ascertained the cause of the rise of the price of Burma rice?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: We have not sent any enquiry committee to Burma in order to ascertain why the price of rice has risen there. Bengal will have to accept that rise in price without any demur. I suppose, Sir, the rise is due to the fact that Burma rice has been imported into other parts of India as well this year. Further, there has been a drain on Burma rice from Siam, Malaya, Japan and China.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state who raised the price of rice and paddy owing to the rise of Burma rice? Was it the paddy and rice dealer or the agriculturist?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Nobody consciously raises the price of such a universal article. The price of rice rises on account of economic reasons. If paddy, as I pointed out on a previous occasion, is sold at Rs. 4 or Rs. 4-2 per maund, the price of rice will also rise.

Mr. SHAHEDALI: Will the Hon'ble Minister please state whether the price of rice last week was Rs. 5-1 and to-day the price is Rs. 5-7?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: I am not aware of that and I doubt if it is correct.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: With regard to the price of cloth, is the Hon'ble Minister aware of the fact that merchants have stocked various kinds of cloth in the expectation of making higher profits and they are not disposing of them to the buyers who want to purchase them and will he please state what Government are going to do with regard to this situation?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: I think the honourable member is drawing on his imagination. The merchants are continuing

to sell cloth and at lower prices. When Government began to take action, the market price of one commodity was Rs. 18 and the figure which I got for that commodity yesterday was Rs. 13-12. So there has been a drop of nearly Rs. 5 owing to Government action.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Sir, that was not my question. My question was this that some of the merchants are stocking cloth without selling it.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: The honourable member should know that if there was any hoarding or stocking of that kind, the price of cloth would not fall. If the price of cloth falls, this is due to sale. The two cannot go together.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: With reference to the statement that enquiries in the price were made in Calcutta as well as in the mufassal, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it was a point of enquiry who was responsible for raising the price of paddy and rice while the stock was quite sufficient to meet the demand?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: I do not think that I made an enquiry into the question as to who was responsible for it. I consider it to be an enquiry of a rather fruitless nature.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact that representations came from many districts signed by District Officers stating that the price of paddy and rice was being raised out of the profiteering policy of the dealers and they sought the intervention of Government?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: No such representations have ever been presented before Government and I doubt very much whether District Officers will ever set their hand and seal to representations signed by the public. District Officers have got other methods of representation to Government.

Promotion of certain Inspectors as Divisional Auditors.

*94. **Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED KHONDKAR:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Co-operative Credit and Rural Indebtedness Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact that a number of Inspectors of his Department have been promoted this year to the rank of Divisional Auditors?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) their names,

(*ii*) their number,

(*iii*) educational qualifications,

(*iv*) length of service as Inspectors, and

(*v*) criterion of promotion, seniority or merit or both?

The Hon'ble Mr. MUKUNDA BEHARY MULLICK: (*a*) Yes.

(*b*) (*i*), (*iii*) and (*iv*) A statement is laid on the Table.

(*ii*) Six

(*v*) Both.

Statement referred to in reply to clauses (b)(i), (iii) and (iv) of starred question No. 94.

	Name.	Educational qualifications.	Length of service.
			Years.
1.	Babu Suresh Chandra Ganguly ..	B.Sc. ..	22
2.	Maulvi Fazlul Karim ..	Read up to Entrance.	21
3.	Maulvi Abdul Hamid ..	Entrance ..	20
4.	Babu Gopal Chandra Bhattacharji ..	M.A. ..	20
5.	Babu Santosh Chandra Bose ..	Entrance ..	20
6.	Babu Pramatha Nath Majumdar ..	M.A. ..	15

Appointments in Revenue Department from 1937 to 1941.

*95. **Mr. MD. ABUL FAZL:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department be pleased to lay on the Table a statement showing, grade by grade,—

(*a*) the number of appointments made in his department from 1st April, 1937, to 30th June, 1941, from—

(1) Hindus,

(2) Muslims,

(3) Scheduled Castes, and

(4) other castes; and

(*b*) the number of each caste drawing salary of Rs.100 per month and upwards?

MINISTER in charge of the REVENUE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy): A statement is laid on the Table.

Statement referred to in reply to starred question No. 95.

(*a*) Number of appointments made in the Revenue Department from 1st April, 1937, to 30th, June 1941—

Upper Division.

(1) Hindus	1
(2) Muslims	3
(3) Scheduled Castes	Nil
(4) Other castes	Nil

Lower Division.

(1) Hindus	2
(2) Muslims	4
(3) Scheduled Castes	Nil
(4) Other castes	1 (Indian Christian).

Appointments outside the Upper and Lower Division—

(1) Hindus	1
(2) Muslims	1
(3) Scheduled Castes	Nil
(4) Other castes	Nil

Typists and Routine Assistants.

(1) Hindus	2
(2) Muslims	2
(3) Scheduled Castes	Nil
(4) Other castes	Nil

(*b*) The number of each caste drawing a salary of Rs. 100 per mensem and upwards—

Upper Division.

(1) Hindus	6
(2) Muslims	7
(3) Scheduled Castes	Nil
(4) Other castes	Nil

Lower Division.

(1) Hindus	13
(2) Muslims	8
(3) Scheduled Castes	Nil
(4) Other castes	Nil

Typist and Routine Assistants.

(1) Hindus	2
(2) Muslims	Nil
(3) Scheduled Castes	Nil
(4) Other castes	Nil

Mr. RASIK LAL BISWAS : List থেকে দেখা যাচ্ছে যে, Scheduled Castesএর ঘর একেবারে nil, একথা কি সত্য যে মন্ত্রী মহাশয়ের Department থেকে instruction issue করা হয়েছে যে Scheduled Castesএর কোনও লোককে appoint করা হবে না ?

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: Sir, I repudiate that suggestion.

Babu MADHUSUDAN SARKER: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reasons for total absence of the Scheduled Castes in his department?

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: Some of these appointments were made before the communal ratio rules came into operation and suitable Scheduled Caste candidates were not available. That is why the Scheduled Castes could not be appointed since the communal ratio rules came into operation. In one case I remember an Indian Christian had to be appointed, because no Scheduled Caste candidate was available, but I may inform my honourable friend that since that appointment of the Indian Christian, the Revenue Department had issued definite instructions for reservation of the next Hindu vacancies for the Scheduled Castes.

Babu MADHUSUDAN SARKER: Upper or lower?

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: Both upper and lower.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS

(to which answers were laid on the table)

Stay in the general elections of Local Boards, Murshidabad.

69. Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Public Health and Local Self-Government Department be pleased to state—

(*i*) whether 9th of July, 1941, was the last date for filing of nomination papers in connection with the general election of the Local Boards in the district of Murshidabad, which is to have been held in September next; and

(*ii*) whether an intimation from Government reached the district authorities on the 8th July, informing the stay of such elections *sine die*?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reasons for the stay of the elections?

(*c*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when the postponed elections are likely to be held?

Mrs. HASINA MURSHED (on behalf of the Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja Habibullah Bahadur, of Dacca): (*a*) Yes.

(*b*) and (*c*) The reasons for the postponement of the elections have been explained in the Press-note issued by Government, a copy of which is laid on the Table. The postponed elections will be held after final decision has been reached in the matter.

Statement referred in reply to clauses (b) and (c) of unstarred question No. 69.

PRESS-NOTE.

For the purpose of election of members to the Local Boards in the Murshidabad district, the Hindu community was declared as a minority community in the Sadar, Lalbagh and Jangipur subdivisions and the Muslim community was declared as a minority community in the Kandi subdivision and seats were reserved for these communities in the respective Local Boards according to their population ratio.

At the last general elections of the Local Boards, the minority communities, however, actually secured a larger number of seats than were reserved for them. Government are accordingly considering whether steps should be taken either to cancel the reservation of seats for the

minority communities or to redistribute the general and the reserved seats on the basis of the population figures according to the new Census; and pending final decision of these questions, Government have instructed the local officers to postpone the next general elections of the Local Boards for the present.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Parliamentary Secretary be pleased to state when the attention of Government was drawn to this state of things?

Mrs. HASINA MURSHED: I do not quite follow what the honourable member means by this question.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: There is a reference to a Press-Note at the bottom of the answer to unstarred question No. 69 stating a certain state of things regarding minority seats and Government have replied that Government are considering whether steps should be taken either to cancel the reservation of seats or to distribute the general and reserved seats. May I know when the attention of Government was drawn to this state of things?

Mrs. HASINA MURSHED: The District Muslim League, Murshidabad, has represented to Government asking for the cancellation of reserved seats and this was received by Government on the 19th June, 1941.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Parliamentary Secretary be pleased to state whether the policy of Government is to see that the seats are occupied by the communities according to the ratio of the population?

Mrs. HASINA MURSHED: The whole matter is under Government consideration and they are trying to arrive at a definite conclusion.

Second Maulvi of Barrackpore Government High School.

70. Maulvi SAYED AHMED KHAN: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact that one Urdu speaking master has been appointed recently as the Second Maulvi in the Barrackpore Government High School, 24-Parganas?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the medium of instruction of the said school?

(*c*) Was there any qualified Bengali applicant for the post?

(d) If the answer to (c) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reasons for neglecting their claims?

MINISTER in charge of the EDUCATION DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq): (a) Yes.

(b) Bengali.

(c) and (d) Yes: it was, however, considered desirable to appoint to the post a person whose mother tongue was Urdu, as his work in the school would be the teaching of that language.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: With reference to his answer (d), viz., Government considered it desirable to appoint to the post a person whose mother tongue was Urdu, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if that teacher is competent enough to explain that language in Bengali? Does he know Bengali?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: He knows Bengali as much as non-Bengali gentlemen know.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether that particular teacher has learnt Bengali language through any institution?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: He has been asked to pass a test in Bengali.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when that test examination will take place?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: That is conducted by the department. There are certain rules about that. I cannot say that.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: When he passes that examination and when that great event takes place, will the Hon'ble Minister kindly communicate that news to the House? (Laughter.)

(No reply.)

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if any arrangement has been made to explain to the school boys the Urdu sermons of their teacher to be understood by the students in Bengali?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Sir, the position is this: In most of the schools mostly in Murshidabad and in Dacca and in the

city of Calcutta we have got students whose mother tongue is either Urdu or Bengali—a mixed class in which it is very difficult for a teacher to be proficient in both Urdu and Bengali to the extent of imparting education, which we expect the teachers to impart to the students. We have not got money to have separate classes. In this particular institution there is a very large number of students whose mother tongue is Urdu and it was thought desirable to appoint a teacher whose mother tongue is Urdu, because it is felt that a person can teach better the language which is his mother tongue than one whose mother tongue it is not. It was for that reason that this Urdu-knowing teacher has been appointed. He has been asked to pass a Bengali test. There are Bengali teachers also and the arrangement that has been made has been found satisfactory in the sense that it has been approved by all and no objection has been raised. It is not through discrimination that this appointment has been made.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether, in view of what he has stated, until the teacher has passed Bengali, Government is not considering the desirability of engaging a Bengali translator to translate instructions——

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Questions over.

Message.

Secretary then read out the following message received from the Bengal Legislative Council:—

That the concurrence of the Bengal Legislative Assembly be asked to the Bengal Patni Taluks Regulation (Amendment) Bill, 1941, as passed by the Bengal Legislative Council at its meeting held on the 18th August, 1941.

GOVERNMENT BILL.

The Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1940.

Mr. SPEAKER: We will now take up the Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1940.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Mr. Speaker, before the Hon'ble Minister for Education resumes his speech, I desire to say one word.

Up till a few moments ago, we were in expectation that Government would not take up the Bill to-day but would allow the good work which was being done outside this House with reference to this Bill to proceed to a successful termination. Only a few moments ago, we came to learn that that was not the idea of Government this afternoon.

It places us, the Opposition, in a difficulty. We had shaped our programme in the belief that this afternoon we would not be called upon to take part in the debate with reference to the Secondary Education Bill. We have, therefore, to consider our position having regard to what we have just now heard and I would suggest to you, Sir,—and I hope the Government will accept that suggestion—that this House may stand adjourned for half an hour or three quarters in order that we of the Opposition may decide our course of action in case Government proceed with the Bill this afternoon.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Sir, to such a proposal for an adjournment for half an hour to enable the Opposition to consider the position I cannot raise any objection. I can only say that there is this feeling in the Coalition Party that this Bill should be proceeded with, and unless anything unforeseen happens, to finish this Bill in this Session. Now, Sir, we have in deference to the wishes of our friends adjourned the consideration of the Bill from time to time and to-day it was arranged that we should take up the Bill. Fortunately the position happens to be this, that the deliberations that have been going on have resulted in a large measure of compromise on some very important points and I think I voice the feeling of every one in this House if by a further process of deliberations and discussions the last remnant of disagreement may be removed; from that point of view I would even welcome this adjournment not merely to allow our friends of the Opposition to discuss the position and come to a decision but also to see if any agreement can be reached as to the manner in which this Bill is to be handled in this House. From that point of view Government have no objection to half an hour's adjournment being given.

(The House was adjourned till 5-45 p.m.)

(After adjournment.)

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Sir, I have discussed the matter before the House with the leaders of the Opposition and I am glad to be able to announce that we have come to the following agreements:—

(1) The Special Committee on the Secondary Education Bill will have time till Sunday next to conclude its deliberations.

(2) Even if the Special Committee cannot agree on some points Government will be at liberty to proceed with the Bill on and from Monday next. The leaders of the Opposition do not object to such a procedure.

(3) If there is a complete agreement on the measure I will have the liberty to decide as to the procedure to be adopted for consideration of such an agreed measure during the current session of the Assembly.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the Opposition and with the consent of the leaders of the different groups constituting the Opposition I have come to the agreement which has just now been read by the Hon'ble the Chief Minister and the Minister of Education. We can assure you, Sir, that we shall use all our endeavours and summon all our resources in order to arrive at a fair and just agreement on the matters which are comprised in the Secondary Education Bill, You know better than anyone else the spirit in which this Special Committe has been continuing its work for the last ten days, and I have no doubt that you will endorse the remark which I just made. We on this side of the House realise, the Hon'ble the Chief Minister realises and I hope the party which he is leading also realises that if we can achieve an agreement on this matter we shall be doing something great, something dynamic, something which will usher in the fullness of to-morrow out of the smallness of to-day.

Mr. SPEAKER: I feel I should say a few words before adjourning the discussion on the Secondary Education Bill till Monday next. I fully agree with what the Leader of the Opposition has said in agreeing to the suggestions which have been arrived at as a result of deliberations outside the House. I not only agree with them but I genuinely feel within myself that if to-day the problem can be solved by an agreement it will solve the greatest problem that is for the time being baffling India and is standing in the way of our satisfactory progress. It is after all this communal problem which stands in the way of India's destined goal. I hope this is realised by all sections of the House. And I think you realise well that if once again Bengal can give a lead to this matter, it will stand as a lasting credit to this province and I believe the solution of the problem which will be chalked out to-day will be followed by every other province and will stand in history as a great achievement of the province. I do hope all sections of the House will try to do their best in the matter.

Before I adjourn the House I should like to refer to one other matter. There are several items on to-day's agenda, such as the Bengal Finance (Amendment) Bill, which, I think, can be disposed of to-day.

Mr. SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY: Sir, I have not brought with me copies of the Bill and other papers connected therewith nor did I think that the Finance (Amendment) Bill would be taken up to-day.

Mr. SPEAKER: Personally I know that the members have been very busy for the last ten days in connection with the Secondary Education Bill: they have been meeting not only in the Special Committee but they have also had meetings outside. The Hon'ble Ministers themselves have also had their group meetings and others within their respective spheres. The strain that they have had to undergo has been very considerable. Now, therefore, I wish we should dispose of as much business as we can to-day so that from to-morrow the Committee may function without being hampered by any other legislative work and may devote their whole time on arriving at an agreement in connection with the Secondary Education Bill. Therefore, all that I can suggest is that if somehow we can finish the Indo-Burma motion to-day, it would help us much in going ahead with the Secondary Education Bill from Monday next. Otherwise it must be taken up on Monday.

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: May I suggest that the Indo-Burma motion may be taken up to-morrow?

Mr. SPEAKER: That is you want the House to meet to-morrow.

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: The difficulty is that I have no papers with me to-day. I was not ready with them because I thought that the House would proceed with the Secondary Education Bill.

Mr. M. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: Let us concentrate all our energies on the Secondary Education Bill.

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: As the papers are not with me here, I shall not be able to supply any information on the question if the House wants it from Government.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think it will not take more than half an hour for Government to get hold of the papers.

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: The mover of the motion is not here.

Mr. SPEAKER: That does not matter. I can arrange for the mover to come back before 7 o'clock.

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: We have not come prepared, Sir, because we thought that the House would proceed with the Secondary Education Bill.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: If the mover will please give us some time it will help us to come prepared for a debate on such an important matter.

Mr. SPEAKER: Then it will come up on Monday.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: I think it may be taken up on Friday after next.

Mr. SPEAKER: But that will cause a great deal of delay. Is there any difficulty if I fix for this business 5 p.m. on Monday next after question hours, and finish it in an hour?

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: I think that would be most suitable, and so far as this evening is concerned, we do not find before us the sponsor of the motion, Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi.

Mr. SPEAKER: Is there any objection if we finish it immediately after questions in one hour and not more?

Mr. Khwaja SHAHABUDDIN: That is only up to 6 o'clock.

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes. What I say is that we meet on Monday at 4-45 and whatever may be the nature of questions, we finish them at 5 o'clock. If they are not, we leave them over. From 5 to 6 we take up the Indo-Burma Motion and at 6 we take up the Secondary Education Bill. I will put the closure at about 5-55, so that if there is any division it may be finished in time.

The House stands adjourned.

Adjournment.

The House was accordingly adjourned at 6-11 p.m. till 4-45 p.m. on Monday, the 1st September, 1941, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Monday, the 1st September, 1941, at 4-45 p.m.

Present.

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Sir MUHAMMAD AZIZUL HAQUE, C.I.E., Khan Bahadur) in the Chair, 7 Hon'ble Ministers and 182 members.

Obituary Reference.

Mr. SPEAKER: Ladies and gentlemen, it is once more my melancholy duty to refer to the sad death of the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan which event took place only a few days back. I am sure it has been a matter of great grief not only to the province but all over India. He was a towering personality in every sense of the term. He was one of those who made his mark in the political life of this country. Belonging to an aristocratic family, an aristocrat in every sense of the term, he was one of those who had always innate sympathy with the poor, and I feel he had always the characteristic feature in him of mixing with the humble though belonging to the highest class in society. He was a member of the Bengal Executive Council; he was a member of the old Bengal Council; he was a member of the Imperial Council; he was a member of several committees and commissions and represented India in the Imperial Conference. Death of a man like him is really a mournful event; his son is one of us in this House to whom it has been a tragic event. I believe it is the wish of you all that a message of condolence be sent to his son and to the bereaved family, and I hope you will kindly rise in your seats.

(Members rose in their seats.)

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen, the message will be sent accordingly.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 5 p.m. till 4-45 p.m. on Tuesday, the 2nd September, 1941, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Tuesday, the 2nd September, 1941, at 4-45 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Sir MUHAMMAD AZIZUL HAQUE, C.I.E., Khan Bahadur) in the Chair, 9 Hon'ble Ministers and 204 members.

STARRED QUESTION

(to which oral answer was given)

Tube wells in Chittagong.

*102. **Dr. SANAULLAH:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Public Health and Local Self-Government Department be pleased to lay on the Table a statement showing year by year, union by union, for the last 6 years (1935-36, 1936-37, 1937-38, 1938-39, 1939-40 and 1940-41), the total number of—

(*a*) tube wells; and

(*b*) concrete cement ring wells, sunk in the district of Chittagong out of the—

(1) Central Government Rural Development Fund, and

(2) Bengal Government's water-supply fund?

MINISTER in charge of the PUBLIC HEALTH and LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja Habibullah Bahadur, of Dacca): A statement showing the total number of tube wells and concrete cement ring wells sunk in the district of Chittagong out of the Central Government's rural uplift grant and the provincial water-supply grant for the last six years (1935-36 to 1940-41) is laid on the Table. The information regarding the number of tube wells and concrete cement ring wells union by union in the district is not available readily. Steps are being taken to collect the information which will be communicated to the House as early as possible.

Statement referred to in the reply to starred question No. 102.

Year.	Total number of tube wells sunk.	Number sunk out of Government of India rural uplift grant.	Number sunk out of the provincial water-supply grant.
1935-36	43	43	Nil
1936-37	23	23	Nil
1937-38	66	49	17
1938-39	108	38	70
1939-40	48	1	47
1940-41	64	1	63
	352	155	197

Year.	Total number of concrete cement ring wells sunk.	Number sunk out of Government of India rural uplift grant.	Number sunk out of the provincial water-supply grant.
1935-36	Nil	..	Nil
1936-37	15	15	Nil
1937-38	17	..	17
1938-39	78	67	11
1939-40	50	2	48
1940-41	48	1	47
	208	85	123

UNSTARRED QUESTION

(answer to which was laid on the table)

Particulars of candidates applying for post of Sub-Deputy Collector advertised for hillmen.

77. Mr. DAMBER SINGH GURUNG: Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Finance Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) the number of candidates, with their names and qualifications, who applied for the post of Sub-Deputy Collector which was advertised specially for the hillmen of the district of Darjeeling in the year 1941; and

(*b*) the qualification of the candidate selected by the Public Service Commission?

MINISTER in charge of the FINANCE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy): (*a*) Government do not consider that it will be in the public interest to furnish this information.

(*b*) He is a graduate of the Calcutta University.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: With reference to answer (*a*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how it will affect the public interest to disclose the number of candidates, with their names and qualifications?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: The Public Service Commission are of opinion that any discussion regarding the relative merits of the candidates should be avoided, as this will reflect on their judgment and impartiality. Their recommendations ought not to be brought within the arena of political faction; Government agree with the Public Service Commission.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Do I understand the Hon'ble Minister to say that the House has no right to know whether the best candidates are selected?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Discretion has been given to the Public Service Commission to select the best candidate, and I believe, Sir, that I have heard it stated on the floor of the House that as far as possible Government ought not to interfere with the discretion of the Public Service Commission. I do not know whether the honourable member has a different view in the matter.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Sir, my question was not whether the House wanted the Government to interfere but it was whether the House has a right to know if the best candidate was selected.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: No, Sir, the House has not the right to know.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: On a point of privilege, Sir. The Hon'ble Minister has said that the House has not the right to know whether the best candidate has been selected or not. May I know, Sir, whether the House has not got the privilege to know this? I think the matter should be referred to the Privilege Committee.

Mr. SPEAKER: It is not a question of privilege.

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

Spread of education among Scheduled Castes in Western Bengal.

*96. **Mr. ADWAITA KUMAR MAJI:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department be pleased to state what steps the Government have taken for the spread of education among the Scheduled Castes in Western Bengal?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) the number of Scheduled Caste students who have applied to District or Divisional Inspector of Schools, Burdwan Division, for special stipends reserved for them; and

(*ii*) the number of them that have received such stipends?

*MINISTER in charge of the EDUCATION DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq): (*a*) Grants to the following Scheduled Caste schools in Burdwan Division were paid last year (1940-41):—

(1) Khujutipara High English School.—Maintenance grant of Rs.100 per mensem and furniture grant of Rs.30.

(2) Bhimpore Santal High English School (Midnapore).—Maintenance grant of Rs.225 per mensem and also Rs.100 for equipment and appliances.

(3) Salkia Vikram Vidyalaya Middle English School (Howrah).—Maintenance grant of Rs.35 per mensem. A grant of Rs.4,000 has been sanctioned this year (1941-42) for the construction of a school building.

(4) Ranibandha Middle English School (Bankura).—Maintenance grant of Rs.250 and first instalment of capital grant of Rs.853 out of Rs.1,706. A proposal for financing the construction of a hostel building is being matured.

(5) Gokulnagar Middle English School (Midnapore).—Maintenance grant of Rs.40 was paid. A case for financing the scheme for repairs and improvement of the school building is being matured.

(6) Palpara Govinda Jew Middle English School (Howrah).—A case for financing the scheme for construction and repairs of building is being matured.

(7) Shibganj-Guzarpur High English School (Howrah).—This is not purely a Scheduled Caste school but a good many such

boys read in it. A maintenance grant of Rs.100 per mensem and also Rs.100 for equipment and appliances were paid. A case for financing the scheme for construction of a hostel building for Scheduled Caste boys is being developed.

(8) Mayna Y. S. B. High English School (Midnapore).—This is also not purely a Scheduled Caste School. But a good many such boys read in it. A Capital grant of Rs.640 for a Scheduled Caste hostel was sanctioned and of this Rs.320 (first instalment) was paid.

(9) Jorda High English School (Bankura).—A new Scheduled Caste school has been granted recognition this year. Besides the above 200 special stipends of Rs.4 per mensem were awarded last year to Scheduled Caste boys reading in the top four classes of high schools.

(*b*) (*i*) About 350 applications received in the office of the Inspector of Schools, Burdwan Division, up to date.

(*ii*) Funds for the purpose will shortly be placed at the disposal of the Inspector of Schools, Burdwan Division, and the Inspectress of Schools, Burdwan and Presidency Divisions. 141 stipends are expected to be awarded this year.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state why only 141 stipends will be given amongst 350 applicants?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: That was due to the limited fund at our disposal.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what amount has been reserved for giving stipends to the Scheduled Caste students?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: The funds are placed at the disposal of the Director of Public Instruction and he makes allotments according to requirements.

Malaria in Jessore district.

***97. Mr. A. M. A. ZAMAN:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Public Health and Local Self-Government Department be pleased to state whether there has been malaria in epidemic form in some parts of the district of Jessore?

(b) If the answer to (a) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(i) the actions taken by the Government to check the epidemic of those places;

(ii) the number of deaths from malaria in different Unions of Narail thana of the district of Jessore caste by caste (Muslims and non-Muslims) in the months of October, November, December, 1940, and January and February, 1941;

(iii) whether the situation has come down to normal state; and

(iv) the cause of this epidemic this year?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: (a) Yes.

(b) (i) 39 medical licentiates were appointed to carry out anti-malaria work in Jessore district. Only 29 joined their duties. 7 doctors worked for two months each, 21 for 1 month each and one for less than a month. In addition to the normal grant of quinine a special supply of 105 lbs. of cinchona febrifuge, 55 lbs. of cinchona febrifuge tablets, 4 lbs. of quinine sulphate powder and 127 lbs. of quinine sulphate tablets, 20,000 plasmochin tablets and 1,500 quinine dihydrochloride ampoules have been made to the district.

(ii) Figures showing the number of deaths from a particular disease are maintained thana by thana and not union by union nor caste by caste. Within the Narail police-station 172 persons died of malaria in October, 163 in November, 302 in December, 1940, 239 in January and 100 in February, 1941.

(iii) The epidemic of malaria has subsided there being only sporadic cases at present.

(iv) Malaria is endemic in the Jessore district. Last year's drought with lower flood level of the rivers has aggravated it.

Spread of Muslim Girls' Education.

*98. **Khan Bahadur Maulvi FAZLUL QUADIR:** (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department be pleased to state what steps have been taken by the Inspectresses of Schools, both of Dacca and Presidency Circles, separately for the spread of Muslim Girls' Education?

(b) How many Muslim girls' high English and middle English schools have been started by them during the last four years and where?

(c) How many girls' high English and middle English schools have been established by the Hindus, in each Circle during the said period (to be shown separately)?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: (*a*) The Inspectresses of Schools have tried to encourage the spread of Muslim Girls' Education in the Province by giving—

(1) adequate grants to established Muslim girls' schools in the Province; and

(2) scholarships and stipends and free-studentships to deserving Muslim girls.

Statements showing separately the amounts of recurring and non-recurring grants sanctioned by the two Inspectresses of Schools to Muslim girls' schools and the amounts of scholarships and stipends sanctioned by them to Muslim girls during the last five financial years, are laid on the table.

(*b*) Schools are generally started through local initiative and the Educational Officers try to help them, wherever possible, with grants and suggestions for improvement.

A statement of high English and middle English schools for Muslim girls which came into existence during the last four years is also laid on the table.

(*c*) The numbers of high English and middle English schools for girls started mainly by the Hindus are as follows:—

	High English school.	Middle English school.
Presidency and Burdwan Divisions ...	8	38
Dacca Circle ...	9	22

Statement referred to in reply to clause (a) of starred question No. 98.

	1936-37.	1937-38.	1938-39.	1939-40.	1940-41.
Dacca Circle.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Recurring grants	17,016	16,879	15,855	19,302	26,669
Non-recurring grants ..	1,180	1,715	3,112	3,091	3,354
Scholarships	4,224	4,416	4,752	7,296	7,296
Stipends	1,992	1,992	1,992	1,992	1,192
Presidency Circle.					
Recurring grants	19,896	21,746	30,270	57,039	46,490
Non-recurring grants ..	872½	9,618	17,515	734	13,572
Scholarships	1,353	1,710	1,456	1,530	1,409
Stipends	1,140	2,513	2,138	2,124	1,929

Statement referred to in reply to clause (b) of starred question No. 98.

PRESIDENCY AND BURDWAN DIVISIONS.

High English Schools.

Nil.

Middle English Schools.

1. M. A. O. Girls' School, Calcutta.
2. Karaya Moslem Girls' School, Calcutta.
3. Momen Girls' School, Jessore.
4. Banharishpur Girls' School, Howrah.
5. Beroil Palita Moslem Girls' School, Jessore.
6. Beniapuker Moslem Girls' School, Calcutta.
7. Pal Avenue Muktab, Calcutta.
8. Anjuman Girls' School, Calcutta.
9. Hatiara Girls' School, 24-Parganas.
10. Majidia Girls' School, Khulna.
11. Sainpala Girls' School, 24-Parganas.
12. Shibpore Moslem Girls' School, Howrah.
13. Suhrawardy Begum Moslem Girls' School, Midnapore.
14. Baratazpur Girls' School, Hooghly.

DACCA CIRCLE.

High English School.

1. Syedunnessa Girls' Home, Barisal.

Middle English Schools.

1. Kanchijhuli Girls' Middle English School, Mymensingh.
2. Haripur Sakina Majid Girls' Middle English School, Rangpur.
3. Khagabarabari Girls' School, Rangpur.

Khan Bahadur FAZLUL QUADIR: With reference to the statement referred to in reply to clause (*a*) of this question, will the Hon'ble the Chief Minister be pleased to state why the grant under the head "Stipends" has been reduced from Rs. 1,992 in 1936-37 to Rs. 1,192 in 1940-41?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: I ask for notice.

Process-servers of Criminal Courts.

*99. **Mr. MD. ABUL FAZL:** (*a*) With reference to the reply given to unstarred question No. 45 of the 30th July, 1940, will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department be pleased to state—

(*i*) whether Government have as yet come to any decision in the matter; and

(*ii*) if so, what are their decisions?

(*b*) If the answer to clause (*a*) (*i*) is in the negative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when the decision of Government in the matter may be expected?

MINISTER in charge of the REVENUE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy): The honourable member is requested to refer to the reply to the starred question No. 87 delivered in the Assembly on the 20th August, 1941.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS

(answers to which were laid on the table)

Appointment of Scheduled Caste employees in the Court of Wards Estates, Bakarganj.

71. **Mr. UPENDRA NATH EDBAR:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department be pleased to lay on the Table a statement showing the present number of—

(1) Caste Hindus,

(2) Muslims, and

(3) Scheduled Castes

employed as—

(1) Manager,

(2) Tahasilder,

(3) Naibs, and

(4) Muhuries,

serving under Court of Wards Estates in the district of Bakarganj?

(*b*) If the number of Scheduled Caste employees is not adequate in the district, what action do the Government propose taking for increasing the number of the Scheduled Castes in the matter of appointment?

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: (*a*) A statement is laid on the Table.

(*b*) Attention is paid by the Collector to provide qualified Scheduled Caste candidates.

Statement referred to in reply to clause (a) of unstarred question No. 71.

		Caste Hindus.	Muslims.	Scheduled Castes.
Managers	..	2	3	..
Tahsilders	..	44	5	..
Naibs	..	..	..	..
Muhuries	..	36	9	1
Total	..	82	17	1

Mr. ABDUL WAHAB KHAN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reasons for the disparity between the Hindus and Muslims who had been appointed, namely, five out of 44 in the posts of tahsildar, and nine out of 36 in the posts of muharrir?

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: These appointments are not new appointments. The honourable member should realise that when we took over the estates, we took over the officers in those estates as well. The communal ratio rules which we are following now came into operation from some time in October, 1939, and the ratio shewn here represents the ratio as had been in effect since the time. The ratio cannot be altered all on a sudden.

Mr. ABDUL WAHAB KHAN: Are we to understand that henceforth in all appointments the Communal Ratio Rules will be observed?

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: Yes, Sir, we have been following the Communal Ratio Rules.

Mr. MONMOHAN DAS: Sir, from the answer we find that out of 100 appointments only one has gone to the Scheduled Castes. Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps Government contemplate to take for the increase of the employees of the Scheduled Castes according to their quota?

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: We have issued definite instructions that Communal Ratio Rules should be given effect to as far as practicable and applications from Scheduled Castes candidates should be considered very favourably so that they may be given appointments according to the Communal Ratio Rules.

Appointments made in the Commerce and Labour Department during 1940-41.

72. Mr. SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Commerce and Labour Department be pleased to state—

(*i*) the number of appointments excluding those of menials made in the Commerce and Labour Department during 1940-41;

(*ii*) the number of them that are from—

(1) Hindus,

(2) Muslims, and

(3) Others; and

(*iii*) whether the appointments were made by the Public Service Commission; if not, who made the appointments?

(*b*) (*i*) Is it a fact that a post of Assistant Commissioner of Labour in addition to the existing one was sanctioned some time ago;

(*ii*) if so, was the post specially meant for a Hindu or a Muslim;

(*iii*) is the appointment going to be made at all; and

(*iv*) if not, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reasons thereof?

MINISTER in charge of the COMMERCE and LABOUR DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy): (*a*) (*i*) One temporary.

(*ii*) One Hindu.

(*iii*) The appointment was not made by the Public Service Commission as the post was temporary and for less than a year. The appointment was made by the department.

(*b*) (*i*) Yes. The Cabinet approved of the appointment of an additional Assistant Labour Commissioner some time ago, but it was decided subsequently by me to appoint instead a Labour Officer, because this is a cheaper agency and a suitable man at the time was available.

The man appointed was a Hindu.

(*ii*) to (*iv*) Do not arise.

Admission into cabins and paying wards in Medical College, Calcutta.

73. Mr. ATUL CHANDRA KUMAR: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Public Health and Local Self-Government Department be pleased to state if there are any rules for admission into cabins and paying wards in the Medical College, Calcutta?

(*b*) If so, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to lay on the Table a copy of such rules?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: (*a*) Yes, for admission into cabins and paying wards in the Medical College Hospitals.

(*b*) Rules are laid on the Library Table.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what time is required by the department to give the refund?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: I want notice.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware of the fact that repeated letters and repeated arguments did not serve the purpose of getting the refund?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: If the honourable member will inform me of the facts, I shall make an enquiry.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to enquire into the matter and frame definite rules with definite period of time by which the money should be refunded to the party?

The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja HABIBULLAH Bahadur, of Dacca: I shall enquire into the matter and, if necessary, I shall frame such rules.

Admission in Lady Brabourne College and its hostels.

74. Mr. SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY: Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) the number of girls admitted into the Lady Brabourne College, in—

(1) I.A.,
(2) I.Sc.,
(3) B.A., and
(4) B.Sc.

classes this year;

(*b*) the number of girls admitted into the attached hostel; and the amount of boarding charges realised from each of them per month; and

(*c*) the average monthly expenditure for a girl in the hostel?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ:

(*a*) (1)	...	85
(2)	...	6
(3)	...	32
		123

(4) No affiliation.

(*b*) 69; Rs.10.

(*c*) The average cost to Government for each resident student is about Rs.21 per mensem.

Rise in price of clothes.

75. Mr. A. M. A. ZAMAN: (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Commerce and Labour Department aware—

(*i*) that the Government of Bengal have issued a communiqué, dated the 31st July, 1941, prohibiting the enhancement in the price of clothes; and

(*ii*) that all the cloth merchants of Barabazar, College Street and other important places of Calcutta are enhancing the prices of piecegoods from day to day without paying heed to the Government communiqué?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what actions, if any, the Government propose to take in the matter?

(*c*) Is the Hon'ble Minister considering the desirability of fixing the price of *dhotis*, *sarees* and other wearing garments?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: (*a*) (*i*) Yes.

(*ii*) No, as far as I am aware there has been a noticeable drop in prices since the issue of our communiqué.

(*b*) Does not arise.

(*c*) The question is under examination. As the matter affects more or less all provinces in India the Government of India have been approached for considering the problem on an all-India basis. The Government of India have recently informed us that the matter is under their active consideration. It is proposed for the time being to await their decision.

Held over questions.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Sir, there are certain questions relating to the Home Department which were held over. May we know when they will be taken up?

Mr. SPEAKER: These questions are being reprinted and will be taken up on Friday. That will be convenient for the members as they will get them together.

Message.

The Secretary then read out the following messages received from the Bengal Legislative Council:—

"That the Bengal Legislative Council at its meeting held on the 22nd August, 1941, agreed to the Bengal Land Revenue Sales (Amendment) Bill, 1941, without any amendments."

"That the concurrence of the Bengal Legislative Assembly be asked to the Bengal Public Demands Recovery (Amendment) Bill, 1941, as passed by the Bengal Legislative Council at its meeting held on the 22nd August, 1941."

"That the concurrence of the Bengal Legislative Assembly be asked to the Bengal Land Revenue Sales (Amendment) Bill, 1941, as passed by the Bengal Legislative Council at its meeting held on the 22nd August, 1941."

"That the concurrence of the Bengal Legislative Assembly be asked to the Workmen's Compensation (Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1941, as passed by the Bengal Legislative Council at its meeting held on the 28th August, 1941."

Adjournment motion.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Sir, I gave notice of an adjournment motion but I just now find that you have disallowed it. Sir, may I know the reason why you have disallowed it?

Mr. SPEAKER: If you see me in my chamber I will discuss with you.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Sir, with regard to another matter may I draw your attention? In connection with certain appointments which were referred to the Public Service Commission a supplementary question was asked in reply to which a very sweeping reply has been given by the Hon'ble Mr. Suhrawardy that the members of this House have no right to discuss the merits of those appointments. If we intend to table an adjournment motion with regard to that, would you please advise us if we should do it now on the floor of the House or to-morrow?

Mr. SPEAKER: That is a statutory right given to the Public Service Commission.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: The Public Service Commission has the statutory right to use its discretion, but for the Minister to say that members have no right to discuss the merits——

Mr. SPEAKER: He has said it on advice. That is the view of the Public Service Commission.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: So far as I remember my answer to the question was—it is not in the public interest to disclose the names of those persons who applied before the Public Service Commission. This I state on the advice of the Public Service Commission. If it is not in the public interest to disclose those names, I cannot understand how this House can discuss the merits or demerits of any appointment. Whether the House has the right to do so or not it is not within my province to say.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Sir, I am glad that the Hon'ble Mr. Suhrawardy has modified his answer and has realised that

his previous answer was too sweeping even for a reckless Minister. So I appeal to you that in view of the modified answer you will please see that the previous categorical answer is expunged from the proceedings.

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes, I will consider it.

Committee of Privileges.

Mr. SPEAKER: Honourable members are aware that a ballot for election of eleven members to the Committee of Privileges was held on the 27th August last. Votes were counted on the 28th August. The following members have been duly elected, namely:—

(1) Mr. W. A. M. Walker,

(2) Mr. Surendra Nath Biswas,

(3) Mr. Shahedali,

(4) Maulvi Hafizuddin Choudhuri,

(5) Khan Bahadur A. F. M. Abdur Rahman,

(6) Mr. Ahmed Hosain,

(7) Maulvi Md. Abdur Rasheed,

(8) Mr. Abdulla-Al Mahmood,

(9) Babu Madhusudan Sarkar,

(10) Babu Shyama Prosad Barman, and

(11) Mr. Maqbul Hosain.

The Committee shall consist of the eleven members with the Deputy Speaker as *ex-officio* Chairman.

Election of the Public Accounts Committee.

Mr. SPEAKER: There is just one other matter to which I want also to draw your attention. To-morrow at 10-30 was the time fixed for the election of members of the Public Accounts Committee. But to-morrow at about 11 almost all the members of the House have been invited to a certain function and I have been informed that a very large number is likely to attend that function. So, the election is postponed till day after to-morrow at the same hour and at the same place.

SPECIAL MOTION.

Indo-Burma Immigration Agreement.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to protest against a wrong done to India, recently, through an inhuman document, containing the terms of the Indo-Burma Immigration Agreement, to which, by an irony of fate, an Indian has affixed his signature, for and on behalf of this great Dependency of the British Crown, in Asia. My story is a sad and pathetic one. It deals with a betrayal unprecedented even in the annals of Anglo-Indian history. The Indo-Burma Immigration Agreement is a settlement, arrived at, secretly and in haste, which seeks, as between two members of the family of nations called the British Empire, namely, Burma and India, to regulate and "examine the question of Indian immigration into Burma", and "to secure for the Indian community, settled and resident in Burma, recognition of their legitimate rights". As a matter of fact, a proper examination of the question did not take place at all and there was hardly any negotiation. The regulation of the immigration, legally of unskilled labour only, transformed itself into prevention and almost prohibition of immigration for the people of India generally, at the hands of a man, who had gone to discuss problems which, in his own words, "were mostly factual and negotiations that would be carried on now were in the nature of exploration" and would be accepted only when they were "considered by the Government of India just and equitable and acceptable to the Indian opinion." Factually, Sir, the leader of the Indian Delegation was bamboozled by the clever men in Rangoon, for, in the hurry and excitement of his coming departure for the United States of America, as the Agent-General of the Government of India, he signed away the rights and privileges of his countrymen and sold his country. We have yet to find out whether he had the authority of the Government of India to sign the document, when, on his own admission, he was on a fact-finding mission of a purely exploratory character and whether he did submit the Agreement to be "considered by the Government of India just and equitable" and if he tried at all to find out whether his handiwork was "acceptable to the Indian opinion". When the whole world to-day is talking of freedom of trade, freedom of the seas, breaking of tariff walls, free access to raw materials by every nation and of "open door" policies, our representative comes back from Burma, smiling and happy, with the unique distinction of having put his hand and seal to a "closed door" Agreement.

The settlement has made us hang down our heads in shame. In spite of the efforts that are being made, deliberately to mislead the public in India, through prevarication and half-truths, the feelings

of disgust, indignation and bitterness surging in the minds of the people of this country have not been appeased. It has been broadcast, far and wide, that the Standing Emigration Committee and the Burma *Ad hoc* Committee, had agreed to the terms of the settlement. It was, perhaps, this that led, the Hon'ble the Revenue Minister, to state, in the Legislative Council, on the 15th August, that "the Agreement arrived at between the Governments of Burma and India had the unanimous support of the Indian residents in Burma". This is far from the truth. The Burma Indian Chamber of Commerce, the Burma Indian Association and the Nattukottai Chettyars' Association, have protested against it in no uncertain language and their representatives are, in India to-day, to acquaint the Government of India of their "deep discontent" over the Agreement. I have authority to state that the Standing Emigration Committee was never shown the Baxter Report and, what is still more reprehensible, the Committee was coerced into acquiescence by being told that the Burma *Ad hoc* Committee had given its consent to the terms of the Agreement.

Viewed on the background of the fight our leaders have put up for the removal of the restrictions imposed upon us on grounds of race and colour, described, euphemistically, as "economic reasons", in parts of the British Empire controlled by the Whites, the entire effort, of more than half a century, appears to have been made in vain. It was left to a son of India, to undo the great work done by them. With one fell stroke of his pen, he has given justification to the euphemism and admitted it as correct. The wide expanses of the globe have been narrowed down and the world has become shrunken for us. Thousands upon thousands of square miles lie uninhabited and barren with the legend "Thou Shalt not Enter," prohibiting Indians and Asiatics from entering into them. Sir Girija Shankar Bajpai's great settlement will encourage the Dominions and Colonies and even some foreign countries, to tighten up their anti-Asiatic legislation still more vigorously and to put more powerful steel bars behind the doors closed against us. By introducing this pernicious doctrine of "economic reasons", for the first time into Asia, the Indian Delegation has laid the foundations of inter-racial and international discord which may lead to disasters. If Burma bangs its doors against us, why should Siam, Malaya, Java, the Phillipines and other Asiatic countries, not follow suit? The Indo-Burma Immigration Agreement will supply them with sufficient reason for a change of policy. The Urdu adage: غریب کی جورو سب کی بھابھی—the pauper's wife is the sister-in-law of everybody—seems to fit in well with our position and status in the British Empire to-day.

Let us, Mr. Speaker, examine this fiction of "economic reasons", which has led our erstwhile compatriots in Burma, to adopt such an unfriendly attitude towards us. Whether they have done so on their

own initiative or under the dictation of interested parties, is beside the point. It has, nevertheless, been given out that the Burman fears that Indian immigrants, both unskilled labourers and business-men, will inundate the country and deprive the denizens of the land of their means of livelihood. The point deserves careful and sympathetic consideration at our hands.

Out of a population of 14,667,146, the number of Indians in Burma in 1931, was 1,017,825, of which 318,000 were Bengalis. The ratio of Indians to the total population was 6·9, say, 7 per cent. Three separate estimates, prepared by Dr. Bernardelli, after the 1931 census, placed the total Indian population in Burma, towards the end of 1939, at 918,000, a clear decline of 100,000, in nine years. The figures, for the 1941 census, will, in all probability, show a further decline.

The Report on Indian Immigration into Burma, however, records, on page 94, that "there is undoubtedly a widespread but *erroneous view* in Burma of the dangers of ever-increasing immigration of large numbers of Indians into their country. The experience of the last century is *sufficient to refute this belief*". On page 105, the author of the Report, the Honourable Mr. J. Baxter, Financial Adviser to the Government of Burma, goes on to say: "I accept the view that on the whole *the volume of immigration from India adjusts itself to conditions of economic prosperity in Burma.*" He continues: "*There is no evidence of any kind to suggest that Indians have displaced Burmans from employment* which they had previously obtained. The whole history of the development of Burma during the last few generations suggests that *there has been a general division of work between the two races* and, therefore, Indian labour in the past has been *supplementary* rather than *alternative* to Burmese labour."

Where, then, is the justification, even on "economic grounds", for the restriction imposed on Indian entrants into Burma and the necessity for the regulation of Indian labour, even of the unskilled variety? We shall have to probe deeper into the problem if we wish to arrive at the truth. I cannot, however, refrain from saying that the Agent-General-designate for India in the United States of America, has left a cumbersome legacy for his countrymen, which every self-respecting and honourable Indian will reject with contempt. He has also left an ugly baby for the newly appointed Member for Overseas Affairs to carry, as best as he can. Discrimination is writ large across this Agreement and, as Gandhiji has put it, it is "penal" in character.

The three Government of India officials, who formed the Indian Delegation to Burma, did exceed, on their own admission, the powers entrusted to them, in that they proceeded from exploration to finalisation and signature——

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA KUMAR: On a point of order, Sir. We have read the whole speech which appeared in the "Star of India" of yesterday's date.

Mr. SPEAKER: How did it strike you in the middle of the speech?

Babu NARENDRA NARAYAN CHAKRABARTY: আমরা দেখছিলাম দু-একটা লাইনও বেশী পাওয়া যায় কি না। দেখছি একেবারে হুবহু মিলে যাচ্ছে।

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: Without realizing that, besides undermining India's status in a foul manner, they were doing a positive dis-service to the Empire, at a most critical juncture. Their hasty and ill-advised action, viewed in the light of the present Armageddon, in which Western Democracy and Totalitarianism are at death-grips, belies the oft-repeated and pleasing statements on Dominion Status of the Statute of Westminister variety and Equal Partnership within the Empire, for this country, although as far back as 1921, the Imperial Conference had held that "it was desirable that recognition should be given to the rights of citizenship of Indians domiciled in other parts of the Empire."

The injury caused by this great wrong done to India, does not stop at this checkmate. Whatever the opinion of the law officers of the Government of India, there is the opinion that the Agreement is illegal and *ultra vires*, notwithstanding the efforts of the high contracting parties to circumvent the provisions of sections 36 and 44, of the Government of Burma Act, of 1935, by trying to legalise it by an Order-in-Council and depriving the Legislatures in Burma and India from discussing it. Moreover, the Agreement goes counter to the letter and spirit of His Majesty's "Instructions under Our Sign Manual and Signet", which lay down that "discriminatory or penal treatment" of India, or "differential restrictions on imports" from India or "measures which, though not discriminatory or penal in form, would be so in fact", should be avoided by the Governor, "in the discharge of his special responsibility." In Article XX of the Instrument of Instructions, His Majesty was pleased to express his desire in these words:—

"Our Governor shall not, before he has consulted our Governor-General of India, give his sanction to the introduction, in either Chamber of Legislature, of any measure which, in his judgment, is *likely to restrict the right of entry into Burma of subjects of His Majesty domiciled in British India or of the subjects of any Indian State*, and it is Our desire that our Governor of Burma shall, as soon as may be found expedient, confer with our Governor-General of India, with a view *to the regulation of the emigration from India and immigration into Burma of unskilled Indian labour.*"

It will be observed, Sir, that a clear distinction has been made here between unskilled labourers and other Indian subjects of His Majesty.

It was to clarify the position that the right of free entry into Burma of "other Indians", was not in question, that Earl Winterton, moved, on the 10th April, 1935, his Amendment, which provided:—

"Nothing in this sub-section shall affect any restriction lawfully imposed on the right of entry into Burma of such Indian subjects of His Majesty domiciled in British India, as enter Burma, whether by previous agreement or otherwise *to perform unskilled labour for hire, in Burma*, not being domestic or menial servants and members of their families or dependents."

My contention gets added strength from the explanations and repeated assurances given to us by His Majesty's Ministers, in Parliament and outside it, to allay our fears and suspicions. The Burma Sub-Committee of the First Round Table Conference, in 1931, especially stressed "the importance of there being no discrimination as regards Indians entering Burma." The recommendation was accepted by His Majesty's Government and no less a person than the Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, declared that "the main principle to be followed must be that of equal rights and opportunities for any British subject ordinarily resident for carrying on trade or business in Burma." Sir Thomas Inskip, speaking on behalf of the Government, stated in the House of Commons that "*nobody wants to discriminate between British subjects domiciled in India or Indian State subjects when they go to* Burma, any more than one wants to discriminate between British, when they go to British India."

Mr. Butler, speaking on the Debate, on the Instrument of Instructions, on the 17th November, 1936, after referring to "the apprehensions of Indians that there will be undue discrimination against them," regarding their right of free entry into Burma, stated categorically that "*there can be no discrimination against Indian immigration into Burma* without prior consultation with the *Governor-General who will take every care of the interests of Indians who may wish to enter Burma.* Therefore, I think that the fear that has been felt on this score by Indians who wish to enter into Burma, *may be quietened in view of the contents of Paragraph XX.*" He further declared: "*We do not want to stop the free entry of Indians in general.* That is why we include the general reference to the Governor-General."

Referring to the distinction made between unskilled labourers and "other Indians", Mr. Butler added: "the reason why we cannot make a simple rule is that *we have to make this differentiation in regard to unskilled labour while at the same time we do not want to stop the free entry of Indians in general.*"

In the l f section 36 (*1*) (*h*), of the Burma Act and Paragraph XX of the Instrument of Instructions, the resultant position, as summarised by the India Office, for the London Indian Chamber of Commerce, was declared to be that "these provisions seem to us, to *meet the Indian claim as fully as is possible* without saying in terms, that the Burma Legislature may not restrict the entry of Indians into Burma—a provision which would certainly evoke protests from the Burmans." I ask, in all conscience, Sir, whether the Agreement we are discussing to-day has any—even the remotest—relationship with these utterances made by responsible Ministers of the Crown, on behalf of His Majesty and his Government?

I have been wondering whether both India and Burma have been fooled, in the matter of this Agreement, by the City of London and its agents in Delhi and Rangoon. In negotiating a Trade Agreement with Ceylon, the Government of India was adamant that Trade and Immigration be taken together. The process was reversed in the case of Burma, which has a larger Indian population and wider business connexions. I ask, "Why this somersault?" If what the Indian loses were to go to the Burman, we could, in a spirit of generosity, overlook the loss. But to shut the Indian out and leave the door open to others will bring him no benefit. The competition is not between the Burman and the Indian but between the Britisher and other foreigners on the one side and the Indian on the other. So long as no restrictions are placed on the right of free entry of Britishers and others doing business in Burma, *our categorical and unequivocal demand is that no restrictions shall be placed on the Indians entering that country.* By signing the Trade Agreement first, our bargaining power, in the matter of Immigation into Burma, became ineffective and resulted in the *Bajpai Fiasco.*

The services rendered by India to Burma in men and money which have brought prosperity to the land, entitled us to a preferential treatment. Ever since the connexion began, India has poured crores of rupees into Burma, to maintain its administration as a deficit province. The final settlement of the account, so generous to Burma, was made with a view to help the new Government stand on its own legs. We have yet to receive about 50 crores of the settled debt. Indian soldiers have stood sentinel on the frontiers of Burma, for decades and, even to-day, our countrymen are keeping the dogs of war away from its doors. I do not wish to base my claim for equal treatment with others on these grounds. I do, however, expect reciprocity with a tinge of gratefulness and equal opportunity for all. The Burman should not make a free gift of my industry and labour, of almost a century, to my rivals. It has been stated that "the power to control entry into its territory is one" which cannot be denied to

any country. I am prepared to grant this power to Burma but where I join issue is that this power shall not be used against me alone.

The less said about the actual terms of the Agreement the better. I shall, however, give one or two instances. I have, in my day, read a good few international and inter-state documents, but nowhere have I come across a more disgraceful clause, than Clause 14, of this Agreement, which lays down that "Marriage and cohabitation with a woman, belonging to the indigenous races of Burma, established to the satisfaction of the Government of Burma, may be made a condition of the cancellation of a permit or *visa* granted to a male Indian Immigrant." For a parallel, we shall have to go to the anti-Jewish madness of Adolf Hitler. Human nature being what it is, we should have been spared the sordidness of this article. I can appreciate the desire of the Burman to keep the purity of his race in tact, but why isolate the Indian?

The Agreement has tried, in clause 22, deliberately to interfere with the personal law of the Hindus and the Muslims, as guaranteed to them under the Queen's Proclamation, of 1858, by restricting them to one wife only, whereas "the existence of polygamy, among the Buddhists of Burma, is beyond dispute". The *Dhammathat* "recognizes the custom of polygamy" and "a Burman Buddhist man can marry as many wives as he likes." I wish Sir Girija Sankar had taken the trouble to inform himself on the subject before he accepted this condition. Further, if the Indian male immigrant happens to be a widower and takes into lawful wed-lock a female entitled to an A permit, the Bajpai Settlement will not allow this male person to take to Burma freely his offspring lawfully begotten on a deceased Indian female. Could there be anything more fantastic or more ridiculous than this?

The Agreement impinges upon the rights of British Indians and Indian Indians, reserved to them under section 44 (*3*), in regard to travel, residence, the acquisition, holding or disposition of property, the holding of public office or the carrying on of any occupation, trade, business, or profession. How can these rights be enjoyed when the party holding them will not be allowed to enter Burma freely? The question, whether entry includes the right of re-entry, is of paramount importance but a correct solution of the fundamental contention, that Indians, other than unskilled Indian labourers, should be treated in Burma exactly in the same manner as foreigners and members of the British Empire, is the acid test of British sincerity and the crux of the whole problem. Nothing less than equal treatment with others will satisfy India.

If the Government of India has failed so hopelessly to safeguard the interests of "other Indians", it does not take long to imagine how its Agents will deal with unskilled labourers. I hope it is not the

intention of the Government of India to reintroduce, by means of this Agreement, the system of indentured labour, through the backdoor. The tale of woe, of the Indians in Fiji, Malaya and elsewhere, is still fresh in our minds. Regulation of unskilled labour should not degenerate into a revival of that accursed form of modern slavery. The rights and privileges of these fellow countrymen of ours, howsoever humble and poor they be, must be protected and safeguarded with as much care and attention as those of their better placed brothers.

Until the new Member for Overseas Affairs and until Indian representatives are allowed to have a say in the matter, no action should be taken in London, Delhi or Rangoon, in pursuance of this Agreement nor should effect be given to its terms in the form of an Order-in-Council. India is sore at heart that the Governor-General who, in the words of Mr. Butler, was "to take care of the interests of Indians who may wish to enter Burma," should have accepted this impossible Agreement without demur and in utter disregard of public opinion and further to have aggravated our exasperation by deciding to commence conversations with Ceylon. We are anxious to inform the Government of India that no conversations shall be held with Ceylon, until the Burma Affair is concluded satisfactorily; and that Sir Girija Shankar Bajpai shall have no part or lot in them, directly or indirectly.

The Trade Agreement between India and Burma can be terminated at six months' notice by either side. If the Government of India fails to secure terms consistent with the dictates of justice, fairplay and cordial neighbourly relations, then there is no other course left open to it except to denounce the Trade Agreement without any avoidable delay.

A rumour that the Government of Bengal had given its support to the terms of the Agreement has been going round the country notwithstanding the assurance given by the Hon'ble the Revenue Minister, in the Legislative Council, that "the Government of Bengal would not do anything or agree to any term which might affect the interests of the people of the province."

May I request him to reaffirm that statement to-night and also to inform the Government of India of that wise decision?

I beg to propose the resolution which stands in my name.

"This Assembly is of opinion that the recent Indo-Burma Immigration Agreement is detrimental to Indian interests and discriminating in its provisions and further that it undermines the honour of Indians abroad and will have injurious and harmful repercussions on the status and rights of Indians settled in British Dominions, Colonies and in foreign countries. In view of the fact that the Agreement will affect large numbers of the people of Bengal, this Assembly urges upon the Government of Bengal to represent to the Government of

India the feelings of resentment and apprehension aroused by the Agreement and to impress upon them the necessity of taking early steps for its modification."

Mr. SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise on a point of order. Is it permissible for a newspaper to publish the speech of a member of this House in advance? Sir, I have compared the speech of Mr. Siddiqi——

Mr. SPEAKER: I have heard you. I am issuing a notice to the newspaper to show cause why it has published a speech without care and forethought as to whether it has been delivered in the House or not.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: May I submit in explanation that I sent the resolution to you about four weeks ago. Unfortunate incidents came in and delayed the utterance of this speech. I was definitely promised that it would come up for discussion before the House yesterday. Unfortunately the sad death of the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan intervened. At 4-15 I was given to understand that the House would not adjourn altogether but that we would just adjourn for 15 minutes. I had this information verified through the Associated Press and they also informed me that the Government had decided not to adjourn because there had been so many adjournments. Sir, the Editor did not mean any disrespect. If an evening paper has to publish anything on a particular day, there is no other way but to print it on that day.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have heard Mr. Siddiqi carefully. In spite of all his arguments I think that the Bengal Legislative Assembly functions in its own independent right and not according to the calculations and volition of others. I feel that a newspaper functioning in Calcutta should not have released a speech until it was delivered in the House. That being the point the newspaper existing in Calcutta has no right to publish it earlier. I do not mind its being published, I do not mind members sending speeches for publication, but the speech should not have been published in advance. In fact I went home yesterday at about 5-20 p.m. and I found it printed in the paper. In any case I feel that some explanation is due to the House and I have called for it.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the motion given notice of by my esteemed friend Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi which through his enthusiasm he has forgotten to read out to the House.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: I moved the motion at the end of my speech.

Mr. SPEAKER: It is not through his enthusiasm that he has forgotten but it is through your enthusiasm that you have forgotten that he has moved it.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: The motion reads thus:

"This Assembly is of opinion that the recent Indo-Burma Immigration Agreement is detrimental to Indian interests and discriminating in its provisions and further that it undermines the honour of Indians abroad and will have injurious and harmful repercussions on the status and rights of Indians settled in British Dominions, Colonies and in foreign countries.

In view of the fact that the Agreement will affect large numbers of the people of Bengal, this Assembly urges upon the Government of Bengal to represent to the Government of India the feelings of resentment and apprehension aroused by the Agreement and to impress upon them the necessity of taking early steps for its modification."

Sir, it gives me great pleasure in associating myself on behalf of the Congress with the motion that has been given notice of and moved with such ability as cannot ordinarily be surpassed. It gives us greater pleasure still to find an esteemed member of the Muslim League, a member of the executive of the Muslim League, in a way to declare that he dislikes the Agreement which has behind it the problem of dissecting India into different provinces and I hope that my friend will remember how this and similar kinds of things might crop up in course of time if the proposed idea of two nations or several nations, popularly known as the Pakisthan idea, is given encouragement to be propagated throughout the length and breadth of this country.

Sir, the Agreement that was made available to us towards the beginning or the first week of August for the first time and which was talked of in the middle of July last has astonished and shocked Indians to the greatest possible extent. Mahatma Gandhi, who can be considered as an expert in immigration problems, has characterised this Agreement as an undeserving slur both on India as well as on Burma. The Agreement, as has been explained by my friend Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi, is absolutely unfair and inequitable to Indians. It is essentially of a discriminatory character not merely because it places Indians in a different category from other immigrants into that province or that country but it also takes away certain rights and privileges proposed to be secured to Indians and others in the Government of Burma Act itself. It ignores the guarantees that statesmen had assured to India at the time of the passing of the Act and it further contravenes some

of the actual provisions of the legislation itself. Further, the Agreement has certain clauses that are definitely humiliating and are calculated to wound the self-respect of Indians, however small a degree we may have the sense of self-respect in some directions. The procedure in particular adopted in coming to this Agreement is quite unusual and extraordinary and the Government of India went over the heads of the Legislature to come to some agreement for which there was no immediate hurry. We want to bring to the notice of the authorities that are in the Government of India as well as to the Secretary of State in Council that this is a procedure to which we take the strongest exception.

The recommendations of the special commission of Mr. Baxter which formed the basis of the negotiation were not made available to the public earlier and the public had no opportunity of sending their observations on the findings of that report. The commission was originally appointed as a mere fact-finding enquiry, but unfortunately it reached more or less final decisions, decisions that ultimately took a final character. The points raised at the time of the Indo-Burma Trade Agreement by non-official advisers and the point that was pressed from different Chambers of Commerce not to dissociate the Indo-Burma immigration question from the question of trade were ignored and the apprehensions then entertained were ultimately found to have been based on good grounds.

In the case of this Indo-Burma Agreement again the procedure has been specially unfortunate because the delegation was not accompanied by any non-official adviser and the delegation could not get the opinion of non-official Indians either in business or otherwise. The sudden order, in particular prohibiting a large number of labourers from proceeding to Burma from the 21st July, 1941, a date previous to the actual publication of the Agreement, has led to immense hardship to a very large number of people who, not knowing that they could be stopped at the ports, started from their homes and went on with arrangements to proceed to Burma in the usual course. Indians living in Burma or trading in Burma, even at the time when the Agreement was signed, have been treated with scant respect and they have been classified improperly into several classes which preclude the possibility of some of them being permanently employed in the engagements that they are now carrying on either in trade or profession or business. The classes of permits that have been introduced are not well planned and some of these permits are contrary to ordinary canons of international justice. The fees chargeable also are prohibitive. The result has been that many business houses that have head offices in India but belong practically to Burma have been put to immense difficulties. It is quite possible that although it was never contemplated in the Government of India Act or in the Government of Burma Act that there should be

or could be any expropriatory measure adopted by the Burmans to oust Indian business and trade from Burma the net effect of the Indo-Burma Immigration Agreement will be that it will practically put a stop to the maintenance or advancement of Indian business in Burma. This has been done when no similar disability is contemplated or placed on any other national, not to speak of Britishers. Even Japanese and the Germans would be in a position to carry on their trade and business in Burma under much better terms than the Indians would be in a position to do at the present moment.

Further, Sir, a new moral code for Indians has been set up to which an eloquent reference has been made by Mr. Abdul Rahman Siddiqi; that should bear repetition.

In clause 14 of the Agreement the Hon'ble sponsors of the Agreement had laid down that marriage or cohabitation with a woman belonging to the indigenous races of Burma will have to be established to the satisfaction of the Burma Government. "Cohabitation" mind you, "will have to be established to the satisfaction of the Government of Burma." That may be made a condition for the cancellation of a permit or a *visa* granted to a male Indian immigrant. If any Indian would like to enter into marriage negotiations with a woman of Burmese domicile, he will have, before the proposed marriage, to make provision which is sufficient in the opinion of the Government of Burma for the permanent maintenance of the woman he desires to marry.

Sir, provisions of this character one can sympathise with, particularly when one remembers the incidents that had unfortunately led in some cases to riots and the like in the unfortunate country of Burma in recent years; and yet although we have the fullest sympathy for the Burmese in their attempt to protect their womanhood from irresponsible encroachments I might submit that this is a kind of clause which nobody could dream of even in Great Britain. Indian seamen freely go to Great Britain and freely have cohabitation with British women; they can never think of putting a stop to that. I cannot understand——

Mr. SPEAKER: You better leave that point.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Thank you, Sir. Similarly Britishers come and go to the tea gardens of Assam and indulge in excesses which have not called for a condition precedent for the Assam Government to prescribe, in order to prevent their entry into Assam. (Maulvi ABUL HASHIM: What about Hitlerian theory of race and blood?) It is surprising, Sir, that when we are fighting the Axis powers any of their ideas, *e.g.*, Hitler's ideas should be referred to and Hitler's ideas should be attempted to be followed by the sponsors of the Agreement who are struggling on the anti-Axis basis

Sir, I would not take a long time to delineate the numerous ills and evils that are likely to follow from the present agreement. This agreement, if it is at all to be allowed, should be a matter for the Indian Legislature to ratify and for the Burma Legislature to put through in the form of law. There is of course a provision in the Government of Burma Act for Orders-in-Council of this character, but surely when the Legislature is in session the Secretary of State in Council will take the reasonable attitude of not taking recourse to the Order-in-Council for ratifying agreements of this character which are bound to lead to serious repercussions in every field of Indian economic and social life. The Secretary of State for India would do well to leave things to the respective Legislatures to decide.

Sir, the Government of Bengal has a special responsibility in this connection, because a very large number of Bengalees reside in Burma and go there for trade and profession. I understand that from 60 to 70 thousand men from Chittagong itself have to make their living in Burma. I also learn that to our shame the Government of Bengal was not even consulted in the matter before the agreement was entered into. In reply to a reference made in the Council, the Hon'ble Minister on behalf of the Government made that announcement. It should now be the attitude of Government of Bengal to see that this humiliation is properly recompensed and they should refuse to be a party to any arrangement that they may be called upon to make to prevent overland movements to Burma across the borders of Bengal.

Mr. C. GRIFFITHS: Sir, I rise to speak on behalf of the Anglo-Indian community.

Mr. SPEAKER: I am not thinking of Hindus or Anglo-Indians for the time being. We are too much pressed for time.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SHNYAL: Sir, Mrs. Sen Gupta should be allowed to speak.

Mr. SPEAKER: All right; she can speak for five minutes.

Mrs. NELLIE SEN GUPTA: Mr. Speaker, the time is so short that I would not have taken up the time of the House if I did not feel so strongly on this matter; perhaps, we in Chittagong feel more strongly than the people of any other part of India, at least I believe so. When Dr. Sanyal says that 66,000 Chittagonians live in Burma, I would tell him that there are no less than 252,000 Chittagonians in Burma, against the 66,000 mentioned by him. The distance between Burma and India is so little and the friendship is so great that I cannot for a moment think that the Burmans themselves have willingly

agreed to this measure, and I do feel most strongly that they have been persuaded and coerced to agree to a measure which, they will certainly realise, is not for the good of their land. The Indians have worked in Burma for many, many years, there has never been any feeling that they have been continuously taking money out of Burma: they have worked there, they have lived there, and they have spent their money there, and now this measure that has been brought forward is a most humiliating and insulting measure that could be meted out to any one, and yet it has been meted out only to Indians and not to any one else. We know what has happened in South Africa, shall we wait and see whether Indians, our people, are going to be treated in Burma as they have been treated in South Africa. Is it not a disgrace that one of our own people should have agreed to this measure? There are other speakers who will put forward their points on this question much better than I, but I feel that I must protest most strongly against this disgraceful and humiliating measure.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Mr. Speaker, it gives me very great pleasure to support the motion placed before this House by my honourable friend representing the Muslim Chamber of Commerce. I condemn the Indo-Burma Immigration Agreement because it is essentially discriminatory in character; I condemn it because it ignores the fundamental rights of India and Indians; I condemn it because it ignores the rights of India and Indians which were guaranteed at the time of the passing of the Government of Burma Act of 1935; I condemn it because some of its provisions are humiliating and calculated to wound the honour and self-respect of India and Indians. Lastly, I condemn it because some of its provisions really amount to a negation of the elementary principles of justice so far as India and Indians are concerned.

This House will no doubt bear in mind that this Agreement will vitally affect the interests of over a million of Indians resident in Burma, and if I may give briefly the history of this Agreement, it is this: Some time back the Government of Burma appointed, with the consent of the Government of India, a Commission of Enquiry to examine the question of Indian immigration into Burma. One would have expected, Sir, that when that Commission submitted its report, that report would have been available to Burma and also to India. But what was the procedure adopted? The report was available, as I see from the facts published in the papers, to the Government of Burma as far back as October, 1940. I do not know, Sir, the exact date when a copy of that report was made available to the Government of India, but I take it that it must have been some considerable time back. Still no copy of that report was published for the consideration of the public, and it was not until the Indo-Burma Agreement—the

Indo-Burma Immigration Agreement—was published that that report was made available to the public. It was published at a time when there was no opportunity for consideration of that report.

Sir, I hope the House will bear with me if I quote a few extracts from the report of Mr. Baxter of the Commission of Enquiry. Mr. Baxter in his report said, "Migration from India to Burma is not a new thing; it has been going on as far back as Burmese history can be traced through its chronicles and legendary lore." He added: "There is no evidence of any kind to suggest that Indians have displaced Burmans from employment which they had previously obtained and that Indian labour in the past has been supplementary rather than alternative to Burmese labour." He further stated: "There is, in fact, no parallel in the modern world to the present position of Burma *vis-a-vis* the problem of immigration from India. In this country for generations Burmans and Indians have grown side by side, joint contributors to a progressive economic development but associated primarily by the historic accident of a joint control exercised by a British administrator," and that "on the whole the volume of immigration from India adjusts itself to the condition of economic prosperity in Burma." He did not fail, Sir, to sound a significant note of warning, a note of warning which was not heeded to either by the Government of Burma or the Government of India. He said, "I venture to call attention to an aspect of the immigration problem which is frequently neglected. General discussion too often limits itself to that simple and negative word 'restriction' overlooking the probability that a hasty and ill-judged action in this way may lead to economic maladjustments far more serious than the evils which they are intended to remedy. Such a negative view is often based upon a superficial and pessimistic view of the possibility of future development of Burma. There is a wide field on the other hand for a fruitful positive action by the opening up of additional avenues of employment for the people of the country."

Sir, as I have already said, that report was available to the Government of Burma as far back as October last year but still it was not made available to the Indian public until the Indo-Burma Immigration Agreement was published. Will it surprise the House if I say that a copy of Mr. Baxter's report was not available either to non-official Burmans or non-official Indian residents in Burma? It was not even made available to the non-official advisers to the Indian Trade Delegation which had to discuss matters vital to the interests of trade, industry and commerce relating both to Burma and India. And what do we find? The result is this, the Government of India adopted a policy of silence—a policy not of discreet silence but—a policy of most harmful silence. When the Member in charge of this matter, Sir Girija Sankar Bajpai, the Member in charge of Education, Health

and Lands, proceeded to Burma in pursuance of that policy of harmful silence—harmful to the interests of both Burma and India—he declared in a Press interview in Calcutta that he was proceeding to Burma on an exploratory mission—not for the purpose of concluding an immigration agreement, but purely on an exploratory mission. If I may repeat the exact words of Sir Girija Sankar himself, what he said at the Press interview in Calcutta was that he was proceeding to Burma for exploratory talks with the Burma representatives. He went even further in pursuance of that policy of harmful silence. The leader of the Government of India Delegation as he was, he also gave the Sub-Committee of the *Ad hoc* Committee that had been appointed in Burma to understand during the initial stages that he had come to Burma to have exploratory talks with the representatives of Burma.

Now, Sir, the Delegation as we know was not accompanied by any non-official advisers, was not accompanied by any representatives of Indian trade and industry, was not accompanied in fact by any one who could speak with authority on the subject. Sir Girija Sankar Bajpai goes there possibly—if I may borrow an expression from Sheridan—with a pedlar's pack of garbled evidence received from interested bodies in Burma and surreptitious affidavits running down India's case. He proceeds to Burma with that pack on his back and negotiates and concludes an Immigration Agreement.

Sir, I have read to you important extracts from the report of Mr. Baxter. I shall now draw the attention of the House to one point and that is as regards the guarantees. I believe this House is aware that there are certain guarantees given to India and Indians under the Government of Burma Act. As regards those guarantees, I shall say shortly that all the guarantees that were given to India in the Houses of Parliament in England either by Mr. Butler or by Sir Thomas Inskip or by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald have been broken. Part V of the Government of Burma Act guarantees to Indian rights in respect of travel, residence, acquisition, holding or disposition of property, the holding of public office or the carrying on of any occupation, trade, business or profession. It also guarantees certain rights to joint-stock companies incorporated under the laws of British India and to ships and aircraft registered in British India.

Now, Sir, what does this agreement do? It does it indirectly no doubt, but doing a thing indirectly is sometimes even more dangerous than doing a thing directly. It indirectly attempts to nullify those guarantees which were given by the Government of Burma Act. This Immigration Agreement in effect restricts the movement of officers and employees of joint-stock companies, ships and aircraft. Apart from the question as to whether such an agreement is or is not *ultra vires*

of the Government of Burma Act, it is significant, Sir, that whereas joint-stock companies incorporated in India are practically put under the ban, British companies are not under the ban. Britishers and representatives of British joint-stock companies will go on with their work, will go on with their acquisition, holding and disposition of property, will go on with their occupation, trade, business or profession just as merrily as before. That is only another instance of the "divide and rule" policy of British Imperialism. India, which is the parent of Burma in more respects than one, Indians, who profess a religion which is the parent of Buddhism, are to be put under the ban, but Britishers are to be allowed to go on with their avocations, normal, abnormal or subnormal, worldly or under-worldly, in Burma, and yet there is no ban placed on them.

Now, Sir, my honourable friend Mr. Siddiqi drew attention to another matter and that is what he described as a new moral code for Indians in Burma in the matter of marriage or cohabitation with women belonging to an indigenous race. As one who professes a religion which I just now described as the parent of the religion to which Burmans subscribe I am entirely in sympathy with all their attempts to preserve the honour and integrity of women; but may I ask why this ban which is placed on India and Indians is not placed on people of any other country living in Burma? Is it another instance of the racial superiority policy that we find in British Imperialism?

Sir, the last submission I desire to make to the House is this. In a matter which affects so vitally the interests of Indian Indians none of the Indian provinces were consulted. Madras is vitally interested, Orissa is vitally interested, and, as my honourable friend Mrs. Nellie Sen-Gupta reminded the House, Bengal is also vitally interested, and yet none of these provinces were consulted in respect of this vital matter.

Sir, I would say in conclusion that when you consider the clauses of this Immigration Agreement you cannot but come to the conclusion that it is another instance of the divide and rule policy which was the policy of Roman Imperialism and of its successor British Imperialism, a policy which has wrought havoc in India and in other parts of the inhabited globe. That policy is being put to the test at the present moment. And I say, Sir, in all seriousness and after mature consideration to British Imperialists, whose hand is noticeable in this Agreement, that if you do not change your policy of divide and rule so far as India and Burma are concerned, Nemesis will very soon overtake you.

Mr. C. GRIFFITHS: Mr. Speaker, Sir, can I say a few words?

Mr. SPEAKER: No. Sir Biiov.

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: Sir, Government have listened with very great interest to the speeches of the honourable mover of this motion and——

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, there is still some time left and our friend Mr. Griffiths may speak for five minutes.

Mr. SPEAKER: The time was fixed by the consent of the House and I have no right to extend it.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: He has been on his legs several times.

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not mind if the House carries on till 6-30.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: Sir, he has asked for five minutes. He may be given at least two minutes.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: This is a matter in which a particular member belonging to a special community wants to speak.

Mr. SPEAKER: There should not have been two speakers from one group. I allowed Mrs. Sen-Gupta to speak at your request. In fact, you took a lot of time. However, I do not mind it if the House wants to hear Mr. Griffiths. (Cries of "no, no" from the Coalition Benches.) Will you be able to finish, Mr. Griffiths, in two minutes' time?

Mr. C. GRIFFITHS: I will take six minutes.

Khan Bahadur Maulvi JALALUDDIN AHMAD: Sir, I also want to speak, because I come from a district which is vitally concerned in this matter.

Mr. SPEAKER: Anyway, I allow Mr. Griffiths, to speak for 5 minutes.

Mr. C. GRIFFITHS: Mr. Speaker, Sir, in supporting Mr. Siddiqi's motion regarding the agreement and treatment of Indians in Burma, I would like to state that it should be the proud claim of all citizens within the British Empire that they be accorded the rights and privileges of the Colony or Dominion they may desire to settle in within the Empire whether they be Indians in Burma or Burmese in India. It may be said that Burma should be for the Burmese just as India is for Indians, but, Sir, as the British Empire is made up of all races and creeds, therefore, these two factors, race

and religion, should not be the main principles on which the question of nationality should be decided. It should be decided on one's domicile as well. Otherwise Jews would be only in Palestine and Moslems in Arabia. In this House we have people who by race and creed are not Bengalees, but by domicile they are, and who have rendered good work to Bengal more than her original or earliest sons, the Dravidians could do. If we are to be narrow-minded and restrict ourselves to only those who by race and creed originally belonged to a place, then we would never improve. America would be run by Red Indians and the great American nation would not be in existence to-day, Australia would be run by the negroid aborigines, and there would have been no Australian troops to fight the Italians in Africa on behalf of the Empire. Our Bengal Cabinet would not be represented by the present Ministers. France had Napolean, not a Frenchman in the restricted geographical sense but a Corsican that is an Italian to lead her to glory. To-day Germany is led by Hitler, an Austrian, and not a German, to destroy Bolshevism.

England's greatness is due to the fact that she recognises the best that Scotland, Wales and Ireland could produce as well as those from her overseas dominions. She recognised Disraeli, a Jew and to-day England's hold on the Suez Canal shares is due to his foresight. American greatness is also due to the fact that she recognises merit. Burma and Bengal can only rise to the occasion if they also accept the best of those who domicile in the country and treat them as countrymen. To-day with a great war on our Cabinet in Bengal should be more representative including the Domiciled Community whose interests are in the country ("hear", "hear" from the Congress Benches). Again India is considered the "Brightest Jewel" in the British Crown and Calcutta the second city of the Empire. India is the pivot on which the Empire's economic system moves. Without India the British Empire would be broken up. If we lost any other part of our Dominions, the Empire could survive. It was Lord Curzon who said "If we lose India, the Sun of the Empire will have set". Therefore Indians and Anglo-Indians should receive a fair deal in every British Dominion. We do not ask for preferential treatment, we ask to be treated as citizens of the Empire, with full rights where we may desire to settle down.

Finally, Sir, regarding our fighting forces, the Indian Army is referred to by Englishmen of mark, associated with the "Daily Mail" including Viscount Rothermere as the finest native force that has existed in the world since Rome raised her provincial legions. India supplies two soldiers to every one the rest of the British Empire can place on the field. Burma needs Indian troops to protect her so that she may enjoy Provincial Autonomy within the British Empire. Burma might accord a fair deal to all Indians who domicile there.

These Indians are an asset to Burma. They develop the country adding to its wealth and prosperity and they do not exploit the country as is said by some.

To-day no country can stand selfishly isolated. It is necessary that the British Empire should stand united pooling and sharing its resources. We must be prepared to accept the best and consider the question of domicile within every part of the Empire. If we are narrow and selfish-minded we cause a division and destroy ourselves making room for another Empire that can work on broader and more generous lines. United the Empire stands, divided she falls.

Khan Bahadur Maulvi JALALUDDIN AHMAD: Sir, I only rise to associate myself with the motion, because it affects my constituency primarily. I am grateful to Mr. Siddiqi for sponsoring this motion for which, I have heard from him that he had to go round the Speaker and some members of the Cabinet. I am also grateful to members of the Opposition, particularly Mr. Bose and Dr. Sanyal for the manner in which they have supported this motion condemning the most inhuman agreement that has been devised. At a time when the world is thinking of world union the India Government and the Burma Government have come to an agreement to impose provincial divided autonomy with vengeance!

With these words, I accord my support with all the emphasis that I can command to the motion that has been moved by Mr. Siddiqi.

The Hon'ble Sir BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY: Sir, I have listened with great respect to the speeches of the honourable mover of this motion and of those honourable members who have supported it. Immigration is a Central subject. So following the usual practice, Government do not propose to express any opinion on the merits of this motion. They will forward the proceedings of this debate to the Government of India. Government, however, do realise that some of the provisions of the Indo-Burma Agreement will affect the Bengalis who are now domiciled in Burma or who have trade and other business connection with Burma very vitally. Government propose to submit their views on the Indo-Burma Agreement after taking into full consideration the views expressed on this agreement in this House. Sir, the legal position of Government, I mean about our legal right to be consulted by the Government of India before an Order-in-Council is passed, is not very clear. We do propose to have the matter carefully examined, but I can assure the House that Government will certainly convey to the Government of India the views of this House and will press for safe-guarding the rights and interests of the people of Bengal in Burma and of immigrants to Burma.

The motion of Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi that this Assembly is of opinion that the recent Indo-Burma Immigration Agreement is

detrimental to Indian interests and discriminating in its provisions and further that it undermines the honour of Indians abroad and will have injurious and harmful repercussions on the status and rights of Indians settled in British Dominions, Colonies and in foreign countries. In view of the fact that the Agreement will affect large numbers of the people of Bengal, this Assembly urges upon the Government of Bengal to represent to the Government of India the feelings of resentment and apprehension aroused by the Agreement and to impress upon them the necessity of taking early steps for its modification, was then put and agreed to.

GOVERNMENT BILL.

The Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1940.

Mr. SPEAKER: We will now take up the Secondary Education Bill.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: On the last occasion, Sir, I moved that the report of the Select Committee on the Secondary Education Bill be taken into consideration, and I did not make any speech then because there was no time. To-night also, Sir, I do not wish to speak on a motion like this: I do so to save the time of the House and, therefore, I move that the report of the Select Committee on the Secondary Education Bill be taken into consideration.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think, Mr. Rai Chaudhuri, it would be better for you to take up your motion after prayer adjournment for which there is only four or five minutes left.

(At this stage, the House was adjourned for fifteen minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, on behalf of the parties in the Opposition I have the honour to place before the House the following motion, by way of amendment, *viz.*, that the Bill be recommitted to the same Select Committee with instructions to make the following amendments and particular and additional provisions, *viz.*:—

(1) to amend the definition of Secondary Education in such a way as to mean only secular education of that grade and to include technical, agricultural and vocational education [clause 2(*9*)];

(2) to recast the constitutions of the Board of Secondary Education (clause 4), the Executive Council (clause 19) and the other Committees on thoroughly academic and non-communal lines deleting all reference to different communities and making definite provisions for representations of managing committees of schools and of other interests such as Agriculture, Engineering, Medicine, Commerce and Teaching on the Board;

(3) to amend the provisions in such a way as to make the Board a completely autonomous body independent of all official and outside control;

(4) to add a clause or clauses laying down the conditions of approval and recognition of schools and the conditions on which grants may be given to them;

(5) to make suitable provision for the protection of the existing high schools by adding a clause to the effect that all the schools enjoying permanent affiliation to the Calcutta University or to the Dacca Secondary Education Board will continue to enjoy permanent recognition by the Board constituted under the Bengal Secondary Education Act;

(6) to make such financial provision as will be sufficient to ensure grants-in-aid to all the existing schools and provide for a scheme of superannuation for the teachers;

(7) to make a definite provision to the effect that the syllabus and curricula of the Entrance Examination to the University whether named as Matriculation Examination or otherwise should be framed with the approval of the University and the conduct and supervision of the examination should vest in an independent Statutory Committee in case the examination is taken out of the hands of the Calcutta University on payment of full compensation to the said University;

(8) to omit the provision of the Publication Committee and replace it by a Committee for the selection of Text Books for Secondary Schools (clause 25);

(9) to exclude all madrassahs or special institutions meant for particular communities from the purview of the Bengal Secondary Education Bill;

(10) to make the required provision for bringing the Government schools under the control of the Secondary Education Board;

(11) to make suitable provision for bringing the Inspectorate under the full control of the Board as soon as the Board begins to function;

and submit their report by the 31st December, 1941.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I hoped that I would profit by the speech of the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Education, the speech that he promised to deliver to the House to-night, but unfortunately for us he has chosen not to speak on the subject and keep his counsels, of course, within himself without divulging them at least to us——

Mr. SPEAKER: The safest thing in modern life!

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: That may be the safest thing but not profitable to us.

Sir, since the day the Government of Bengal introduced the Bengal Secondary Education Bill and summarily referred it to a Select Committee, ignoring the Opposition proposal that the Bill should be circulated for the purpose of eliciting public opinion, Bengal has known no peace. For about a year educated public opinion in Bengal continues to be exercised more by this measure than either by war abroad or even by riots within the province. Even in countries engaged in war, education, we are informed, has not suffered casualty nor riots in Dacca have promised permanent denial of existing educational opportunities, but the Bill before us opens up both these unfortunate prospects. The communal fascism in the educational sphere that the Bill promises to introduce can only find a non-communal parallel in any of the totalitarian countries with which the Government of India may either be at war or allied. For who does not know that the Bill promises that no secondary school will have any recognition for presenting candidates for higher education, no student even any prospect of university education unless the school or the student is prepared to wear the particular fascistic badge conferred by the blessed Board set up by the Bill?

The widespread agitation against the Bill which was the direct consequence of the Government's refusal to circulate the Bill for the purpose of eliciting public opinion and which could only be arrested by the liberal use or abuse of the Defence of India Act and Rules crystallised, however, the points of difference between the authors of the Bill and those who are not prepared to worship at the same temple with them. An attempt had been made in the motion to formulate such of them as are of major importance and I propose to deal with them *seriatim*.

The first substantial point of difference relates to the definition of secondary education. As we think that Hindu, Muslim and Christian students can meet in perfect equality and amity on the platform of purely secular education we propose that the national type of secondary education should be entirely secular and as the Board can justify its creation only by evolving a varied form of education of practical character, such as the "realschulen" of the Germanic countries or the

Central Schools of England represent, we propose that secondary education should include technical, industrial, agricultural and different kinds of vocational education. Mere establishment of a Board of Secondary Education cannot be of much avail if "real" schools imparting instruction related to the pupil's environment and aptitude cannot be developed. The United Provinces Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education was created so far back as in 1921 but the Report of the Education Reorganisation Committee appointed by the Government of United Provinces and published in 1940 regrets that "secondary education instead of being a self-sufficient stage has come to be regarded as subsidiary to university education", that "secondary education is" yet, that is, after 20 years "mainly theoretical". "Practical activities and co-relation with the conditions and realities of life hold a subordinate, if not insignificant, position in the scheme". "It does not provide varied forms of training for life and employment". "It is true that a few vocational and industrial institutions exist in the Province". "They are under the control of the Department of Industries and are entirely cut off from the main stream of general education. The industrial and the ordinary schools are not regarded as complementary to each other".

Our Government although is anxious to set up a Board of Secondary Education is equally anxious not to bring the industrial and agricultural schools under the Board. The proviso to sub-clause 2 (*9*) is designed for the purpose.

Secondly, a more vital point against which public criticism has been mainly directed is the communal composition of the Board, of the Executive Council and of the committees which makes the Bill a communal measure *par excellence*. If better and more efficient secondary education is really desired, then the Board should be composed of educationists and representatives of educational interests and the Board and the Executive Council and the Committee should be constituted on entirely academic and non-communal basis. If secular education be the only care of the Board as we suggest in the first point in this motion, then the question of communal representation cannot be a matter of very serious import. If control more than the efficiency of education comes to be considered as a thing of supreme importance, then the moral basis of such a demand has to be examined. Who has the greater stake in the present system of secondary schools, whose contribution built up and maintains it, are questions that can be ignored only by the most unjust and immoral rule of force.

The third defect of the Bill which has not been cured by the Select Committee is the subservient position that has been accorded to the enlarged Board of 48 or 50. To wield real authority respected by such a large system of secondary schools the Board should be an autonomous

body liable only to dissolution in case of proved incompetence or persistent default in carrying out the purposes of the Act. But unrestricted powers have been taken by the Government not only to dissolve the Board in such cases, but to suspend and annul its resolutions (clause 45), to interfere with and dictate its Budget (clauses 32 and 35), to ensure that it may not make its regulation without previous sanction of the Government (proviso to clause 18) and even to determine by the Government after the constitution of the Board, what is secondary education and what not [proviso to clause 2 (9)] although *vis-a-vis* the schools the Board is armed with the plenary powers of a Dictator. While admitting that "we are proposing a central authority which has at present no exact counterpart either in India or in the West," the Sadler Commission explained the necessity of an agency different from that which prevailed in England in the following terms:—

> "We do not hesitate to recommend the adoption of the plan of a Board in preference to that form of organisation which has been adopted in the English Board of Education. The latter is in practice a body of permanent officials graded in a hierarchy of ranks and acting under the orders of a Minister who is a member of a Government which is responsible to Parliament. In England however the most influential of the secondary schools are wealthy foundations which, though they do not any longer stand outside the system of public education, are virtually independent and could resist successfully any action of the Board of Education which threatened their freedom of initiative. In Bengal there are no Indian educational institutions which correspond to those great endowed schools and could maintain their independence against mistaken interference on the part of a body of officials. The safeguard of public opinion therefore which in English administration is in part secured by the virtual autonomy of the great secondary schools, must be provided for in some other way in the administration of secondary education in Bengal."
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> Another circumstance" the Sadler Commission said "makes the problem of educational administration in Bengal very unlike that which presents itself in England. In Bengal the local educational authorities are weak and have little influence in higher secondary education. In England——

(At this stage the blue light was lit.)

May I have some time more?

Mr. SPEAKER: My difficulty is that you have handed over to me a list of about 23 speakers.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: I believe, Sir, that you will kindly allow this matter to be fully discussed in view of its very great importance.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have no objection, but in view of the fact that you have put up a long list of speakers, I am anxious to see that other members also get a fair chance.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Since this is the initial motion, let him finish his speech.

Mr. SPEAKER: As I have said I have no objection, but I hope that other members who are not the leaders of different groups will curtail their speeches as much as possible.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, may we know in advance what is your idea and what is the idea of the House as to the length of the debate and time to be allowed?

Mr. SPEAKER: Personally I think we should be discussing this matter to-day, to-morrow and day after. At 7 o'clock on the day after to-morrow the debate ought to be concluded. I think this will satisfy all sections of the House.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Why at 7 o'clock, Sir?

Mr. SPEAKER: I must have one hour's time in hand. Any way, at 7-30 p.m. on Thursday the debate will be concluded. Day after to-morrow Dr. Mookherjee, Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, Mr. Kiran Sankar Roy and one or two others will speak. Meantime, I want to finish all the other speakers even by sitting late hours.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: "Another circumstance" the Commission said "makes the problem of educational administration in Bengal very unlike that which presents itself in England. In Bengal the local educational authorities are weak and have little influence in higher secondary education. In England they are very strong and neutralise any tendency towards excessive centralisation of educational control. There should therefore be in the educational administration of Bengal some influence which will serve as a make-weight against the otherwise preponderating influence of a central body of officials".

Again, to allay public apprehension that recognition and grant may be given or withdrawn at the sweet will of an individual or a caucus whether named as inspector or executive council we consider it essential that the conditions of recognition and grants should be laid down in the statute. There is no gainsaying the fact that the present high schools are enjoying recognition from a body with which the department of education is not in full agreement in such matters. An expert scheme was circulated which envisaged severe curtailment in the number of such schools and an official review was published in justification of it. Departmental reports of recent years are full of observations which breathe antipathy and antagonism against the large body of unaided schools. Schools created mostly by the endeavours of a community that has been reduced to the position of an ineffective minority and recognised by a body that has stood by the tradition of "advancement of learning" but has fallen from the grace of the powers that be, have reasons to be afraid of a new body that has not the tradition of the Calcutta University and can have only a step-mother's solicitude for them. The Sadler Commission was of opinion that Board's recognition should be of a "formal" nature, just as in England the inspection is meant to ascertain whether efficient teaching and adequate premises are provided by a school. But it is unknown whether the authority set up by the Bill will take such a view or not. In the circumstances fairness demands that the conditions of recognition and grant should be stated in the statute, itself.

Besides, a suitable provision is imperatively necessary for the protection of the existing high schools. A great concern has been created in the public mind by the proviso to clause 20 of the Bill which proposes to grant only a temporary affiliation of two years to the schools now in existence, not only to those that enjoy temporary affiliation but even to those enjoying permanent recognition for decades. There are schools in the province which are in existence for about a century or three-quarters of a century, there are schools which depending on the University's grant of affiliation have incurred large expenditure in making provision for school buildings and hostels, there are schools which are definitely superior as teaching institutions to the so-called models furnished by the Government schools, and yet it is proposed that all these schools will have only a temporary recognition from the Board. Such a provision only points to the irresponsible, if not hostile, attitude of the authors of the Bill. Against the vandalism that lurks behind the idea embodied in such a provision the schools have to be assured by statutory provisions of continued life and existence so long as they satisfy the conditions on which they stand affiliated to the University. They have further to be assured that the procedure for withdrawal of recognition will not be a summary one nor such as can be exploited for political or communal purposes.

The sixth point for amendment mentioned in the motion relates to the financial provision that can make the Board a success. How inadequate the financial provision made in clause 33, even as amended by the Select Committee, will be evident if we can recollect for a moment the observation of the Sadler Commission that "If the system of secondary education in Bengal is to be made thoroughly efficient an annual expenditure over and above fees of not less than Rs. 150 lakhs will have to be undertaken in the future", and that even at the start "sufficient funds should be available to make it possible to give grants-in-aid to all the existing schools and to set on foot a superannuation scheme for teachers." No man outside the bedlam can think that a sum of Rs. 25 lakhs almost the amount now given as grants, and an annual extra grant of about Rs. 5 lakhs repeated in the next quinquennium can make it possible for the Board to give such grants or launch any such scheme as the Commission considered essential for a good beginning. Yet, we are asked to believe that the Board is going to be established in accordance with the recommendation of the Sadler Commission and to secure development of secondary education!

The seventh point on which we think the Bill is defective is the lack of suitable provision regarding the authority which will hold the Matriculation Examination and conduct and supervise it. In England the Entrance Examinations to the University are such examinations as are organised by—

(1) the Oxford and Cambridge Schools Examination Board,

(2) the Oxford Delegacy for Local Examinations,

(3) the Cambridge Local Examination Syndicate,

(4) the Universities of Bristol, Durham and London,

(5) the Northern Universities Joint Matriculation Board,

and they are all approved by the Board of Education, but here we see that the Board is not going to be satisfied with only its School Final Examinations but is anxious to take over the Matriculation Examination of the University. If so, our proposal is that a definite provision should be made that the syllabus and curricula of the admission examination to the University will be framed with the approval of the University and an independent Statutory Committee with a majority of University men should be constituted to conduct and supervise the examination. It is all the more necessary in view of the fact that neither in the Board nor in the Executive Council it is proposed to give the University that large voice which the Sadler Commission proposed to give it by suggesting that 7 out of 15 or 18 seats of the Board should go to the University. As regards the financial compensation which the University of Calcutta can justly claim in case it is deprived of the income derived from the fees of the Matriculation Examination, the Bill is discreetly silent although it is provided that the Board will hold

an equivalent examination. The University Commission, however, recommended in clear terms that "a necessary part of the new arrangement is that the University of Calcutta should receive from the Government an annual grant to compensate it in full for the loss of the income which it now derives from the fees paid to it by candidates for the Matriculation", and that "this grant should be permanent".

Next we propose that the provision of the Publication Committee should be deleted and replaced by a Committee for the selection of text-books only. Our view is that the text-book prescribing authority should have no interest, far less monopoly, in prescribed text-books. Such a monopoly can only be exercised to the detriment of the best interests of the student community who are entitled to read the best books available on a subject,—best books which can only be produced by competition among talented persons with special knowledge of a subject.

Coming to the next point taken in the motion, *viz.*, that the *madrassahs* or special institutions should be excluded from the purview of the Secondary Education Bill, I am aware that we shall be confronted with the recommendation made by the Sadler Commission to that effect, but more than 20 years have passed since the Commission made that recommendation when reformed *madrassahs* were in their infancy, if at all born. Now that *madrassahs* education on reformed lines has come of age and there are about 700 such *madrassahs*, we think that *madrassahs* should be allowed to develop on their own lines and they should not be brought under the same Board to compete with the general secondary school system either to smother the latter or to be smothered by it. We are fortified in our viw, Sir, by the arguments and conclusions of the recent Madrassah Education Committee that was appointed by the Government and whose report was published only last year. Dealing with the question whether *madrassahs*, even reformed *madrassahs*, should be brought under the Secondary Education Board, the Report of the Madrassah Education Committee remarks:—

> "If the high *madrassahs* are placed under the proposed Board of Secondary Education, the Islamic Intermediate Colleges will have to present candidates at two different examinations to be conducted by two different bodies, *viz.*, the High Madrassah Examination to be conducted by the proposed Secondary Education Board and the Intermediate Examination to be conducted by a separate body. The difficulty may, of course, be obviated by dividing an Islamic Intermediate College into two different institutions, *viz.*, a high *madrassah* and an Intermediate College consisting of two classes only. The Islamic Intermediate Colleges owe their development from high *madrassahs* to their present status to the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission in Chapter XVI, paragraph 107, and obviously this will be a retrograde step."

"Another point which may be urged in favour of placing the high *madrassahs* under the control of the proposed Board of Secondary Education is that by keeping the high *madrassahs* outside the pale of Secondary Education the students of these institutions will be denied the opportunity of rubbing shoulders with non-Muslim students and also with the Muslim students of secondary schools. It may be pointed out that no non-Muslim student will ever care to be admitted to a high *madrassah* for reading the Islamic course; nor is it possible for a Muslim student from a general school to seek admission to a high *madrassah* in view of the special nature of the course taught in it," and the Committee concludes, "It will not therefore be in the interest of reformed *madrassahs* to place them under the control of the proposed Board of Secondary Education."

Strangely, however, the Bill as reported by the Select Committee proposes to bring not only the reformed but even the old type *madrassahs* under the Board. Surely the Government ought to stand by the recommendations of the Special Committee appointed by it.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Rai Chaudhuri, you have already spoken for about half an hour.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I shall finish in two or three minutes.

I now pass on to the next point in the motion and here I would remind the House again that it is entirely supported by the recommendation of the University Commission which runs as follows: "We think that the wiser course would be to entrust the Board with full responsibility for the administration of all Government high schools". Honourable members will have noticed that the Government high schools, contrary to the recommendation of the Commission, have been kept outside the purview of the Bill. "Under any other arrangement," the Commission observed, "there would be waste of public money through divided jurisdiction."

Should I also remind the House that even after the introduction of Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, the Sir Rajendra Retrenchment Committee recommended that the Government schools should be deprovincialised and since then the question of deprovincialisation has been pressed time and again in the Legislature? We should not forget that more than 15 lakhs of rupees are showered annually on schools that have "ceased to be models."

The last point taken in the motion that provision should be made for bringing the Inspectorate under the full control of the Board as soon as the Board begins to function is surely not a novel suggestion that we are making. Here also the Commission was of opinion that—

> "it is essential for the adequate performance of the functions of the Board that it should have an inspectoral staff of its own. Its responsibility would be unreal if in order to arrive at a decision as to whether it should grant recognition to a school or withhold it, it had to rely wholly upon the report of another authority."

It is unfortunate, Sir, that with so many vital points unconsidered or ill-considered the Government is going to press forward with the Bengal Secondary Education Bill in the face of the widespread unrest created by it. It may be asked why we did not join the Select Committee and press these amendments. The simple answer is that if an Expert Committee appointed by the Government was of no avail, if protracted conferences failed to reach an agreement because Philip drunk with power refused to be sober, then what chances were there that we could have succeeded in the Select Committee? The circumstances are such that the Opposition has only to rely on opposition inside as well as outside the Legislature in the hope—the hope of all the oppressed—that the right cause will triumph in the long run.

Mr. P. BANERJI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, Mr. Rai Chaudhuri has moved his motion and left no points on which to speak regarding this problem. In fact, his speech has been very argumentative and exhaustive, but Mr. Rai Chaudhuri forgets one fact when he cited the examples of England and other countries outside India and compared them with India. He should always remember that there is one law for England and another law for India. Only this afternoon there was a motion on which the House spoke and gave its verdict. Therefore, it is no good dilating on this point and citing examples. As Carlyle says, there is a great deal of good advice but there is very little to perform. We know from the time the secondary education was introduced for the first time in India in 1925 there was a lot of idealism and there was a lot of policy to educate the people of this country outside. But what was there inside? We discussed the points and principles of the policy of English education in this country. We referred to the memorable despatch of Mr. Macaulay in 1835 towards the end of the rule of Lord Bentinck. In 1929 when the Rural Primary Education Bill was introduced this point of principle was discussed. Ever since the appearance of the evil star or the comet—I mean Dr. Jenkins—on the educational horizon of Bengal, such state of things has been continuing. If anybody refers to his speech he will find that Dr. Jenkins talked a lot about principles in those days in 1929. After

hearing all the leaders including you, Sir, he passed the remark that there had been little discussion of principle and little introduction of educational idealism. According to Mr. Macaulay, what was the object of introduction of secondary education in this country? This point is discussed in Mr. Macaulay's despatch. Mr. Macaulay wrote: We have at present a Board for printing books which are of less value than the paper on which they are printed and for giving artificial encouragement by means of absurd history, absurd metaphysics, absurd physics and absurd philosophy. The despatch goes on to say—the object of giving English education is to create in this land a separate class that will serve as a buffer between the rulers and those over whom they ruled and it will be possible, as Mr. Macaulay anticipated, that the Indians will in 30 years forget their idealism, their ideal religion and become Christians.

Now, Sir, that is the underlying policy of the introduction of secondary education in this country at the time of the East India Company and that policy has been systematically pursued up to the present day through the agency of the I.C.S. members of the service in the British administration.

Sir, the Hon'ble Minister in his Statement of Objects and Reasons pointed out that the secondary education was uncontrolled and without a definite plan and there were dual functions, one of the Government departments and the other of the University. So, the whole object of this Bill is to control secondary education. Then it was sent to the Select Committee. It was expected that the Select Committee would make some improvements.

Let us now scrutinise what improvement the Select Committee have made in this respect. In the preamble they have recommended that the words "and control" be omitted and the words "control and development" be added. In their opinion "control" must stand; but what sort of control it is? I say it is undue interference by Government. Being the founder of many high schools—I can cite instances—and from my own experience, I can say that the Government policy has never been to encourage the secondary education in this country, but to retard the progress of education in this country. For instance, when Dr. Jenkins was the Inspector of Schools he took away the grants--in-aid of a school at Cossimbazar, and of another school in the southern extremity of the 24-Parganas on a flimsy ground, namely, that in the upper four classes there were only 70 or 75 students. That money was allotted to other institutions the financial conditions of which were sound. From this small instance we shall be able to understand the actual state of affairs. Government are preparing grounds for a long time—and from 1929 attempts are being made—to take away the powers of the University in their hands. If an enquiry is made by the Hon'ble the Chief Minister, he will find in how many cases the institutions have

not been given affiliation to the University through the intervention of the department of Government; because though practically affiliation rested with the University, the inspecting staff of Government opposed it at every step. Now, let us see what was the business of this inspecting staff? Their business was not to look after the improvement of education but to see whether a school was located in a fine building, whether there was any furniture in that school or not, etc. That was the policy of the Government. In our school-boy days the Inspector used to go and ascertain the standard of education. Now there is no inspecting staff to examine the standard and nature of education that is being given in a school. There is nobody to look after the health of the boys in the countryside. What are the Public Works Department and other departments doing? They are certainly not looking after the health of the fathers of those boys. From what I have stated above I have come to the conclusion that this Government has never been anxious to encourage and improve the secondary education of Bengal. On the other hand there are some institutions in which cases affiliation was not at first granted by the University, but afterwards on the recommendation of the inspecting staff, the University granted recognition to those institutions. This is the state of affairs to-day. If, however, the policy of Government is to improve and develop secondary education, is it not fair that this Government control, I mean this official control, this undue interference, which has been sought to be taken by this Bill, ought to be taken away altogether and the University should be given full control? This is the only way in which in this country education should be given to the people as has been suggested by my friend Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri. Education should be given in such a way as will arouse national consciousness in the minds of the people and not that sort of education which will teach the boys to imitate the western countries and help them to be slaves. What has been the net result of the present system of education? The result has been that after being decorated with the "Masters" degree, the students qualify themselves only to say "I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant".

(At this stage the blue light was lit.) I need not dilate on this point, because the blue signal has already been given.

Sir, the Hon'ble Minister felt that the Bill, as it had emerged from the Select Committee, was not what it should have been. Therefore, another Committee was appointed and I do not know why that Committee has broken. I have heard that only on one point agreement has not been reached——

(The red light was lit and one minute's time was given to him to finish his speech.)

It is therefore desirable that this Bill should go back to the same Select Committee, so that the Hon'ble Minister will find time to discuss

the matter further. So far as I have heard, on many major points agreement has been reached, and we hope the remaining point also will be finished in time.

With these words, I support the motion for recommittal.

Babu KSHETRA NATH SINGHA: Sir, in rising to support the recommittal motion of my friend Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri I concerned. I am not going to enter into the questions that have been want to speak something so far as the interests of my own community are concerned. I am not going to enter into the questions that have been dealt with in the amendment of Mr. Rai Chaudhuri. I do not like to enter into all those big things, those general questions, because big brains and big heads are necessary to come to a decision on those points. I wish to speak only on my own subject—a subject to which I have trained myself throughout my long years of life, a subject that is in my mind, that is in my body and that is in my brain, *i.e.*, about the interests of the Scheduled Caste community—the most neglected people of this province or rather of this world.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, this Secondary Education Bill is a long asked for thing. People were asking for this Bill for a long time. Even before the Commission presided over by Sir Michael Sadler was appointed, this problem of secondary education in Bengal was very acute. Sir Michael Sadler even supported the cause of the Scheduled Caste people whom you may call the backward community or the depressed classes, as you please. There everybody admitted that some advantage and some concession should be given to the backward classes who were really backward in their intellectual and educational attainments as well as in other mental qualities of head and brain. Mr. Speaker, first of all, so far as primary education is concerned, we have got little or nothing up to the present time though Government appears to be very serious for our educational improvement. Then, so far as the middle English standard of education is concerned, the position is that the district boards are doing one thing and the Government is doing another thing. The effect of that is like that of Raja Trishanku —it is neither in the heaven nor on the earth. As regards the Matriculation Standard, the condition is still worse. The University is controlling the examinations, and the Government is controlling supervision. That is like " ভাগের মা গঙ্গা পায় না "! In that view, Sir, we are thankful and grateful to Government that Government in spite of all its faults has at least realised the real position and brought forward this Bill before the Assembly, although, I am sorry to say, the Hon'ble Minister has done but little justice to the millions of His Majesty's subjects belonging to our community. We find that in the General Board out of a total of 48 seats only five seats have been reserved and in the Executive Board only one out of a total of 14 for

members of the Scheduled Castes. May I ask the Hon'ble the Education Minister who is quite conversant with the hard case of the Scheduled Castes to calculate the ratio on population basis of these dumb millions of His Majesty's subjects? The Scheduled Castes constitute about a fifth of the total population of this province, and on that basis on a board of 48 members, their quota ought to have been at least seven in the General Committee and at least two in the Executive Committee consisting of 14 members. We expected that some weightage would be given to us but, instead, our share has been reduced below what is legitimately our due. May I, therefore enquire what justice has been done to us by the Hon'ble the Education Minister? This, I submit, is really very sad. We are still grovelling in the same darkness we have been used to in the past. Our position is still like "তুমি যেই তিমিরে সেই তিমিরে" and we do not find any loop-hole even to-day through which we can see the world of light, education, intelligence, civilisation and progress. Then, Sir, a complaint has been made in this Bill that the control to be exercised by Government is too much. Sir, we do not care for any control of any sort: we only want benevolent control, no matter whether it is Hitlerite, Mussolini's, Roosevelt's or any one else's: we welcome any sort of control only if it does some good to us. But, I submit, no good can be expected to be derived by us from the present measure Provision has been made for an Education Board for Scheduled Castes only, and we thank the Government that some separate arrangement has been made for us. But so far as the vital question is concerned, very scanty justice has been done to us. There is nothing in this Bill which will help us to stand on our own legs. In clause 23 provision has been made for a Committee for the Scheduled Castes wherein it is stated that this Committee will advise the General Board about Scheduled Castes' education. I submit that this advice on the part of the Special Committee to the General Board will be nothing more than a pious wish. And this pious wish will always remain a mere pious wish because in this matter-of-fact world the strong is very unwilling to do something for the weak.

Then, Sir, accusation has been levelled by some parties and by some people of this province that this Bill scents too much of communalism. So far as the Scheduled Castes are concerned, which form one-fifth of the total population of Bengal, having had no place worth the name in the field of education, we cannot but think of our own community and of our own communal interests. If communalism is a sin, I am a sinner: if communalism is a crime, I am a criminal. There is nobody to take care of us, helpless people. For hundreds and hundreds of years we have been grovelling in the dark, and nobody ever cared to think for us. It is a happy augury, therefore, that we have now begun to think for ourselves, and if this is communalism, we don't

mind. As people of this land we claim as a matter of right what is our due and we must have it: we care not if this communalism is going to pierce the heart of anybody else.

Now, Sir, I will sound a note of warning to my Congress friends. We have been in the Opposition and with the Congress. We have had to suffer a lot for having been in the Opposition, but we know that unless some people from our community suffer and make sacrifice on behalf of our community, we cannot assert our position and cannot rise. It is for this reason that we have been in the Opposition and have been working with the Opposition. And although we knew that had we gone to the Select Committee we could have got something for ourselves, we boycotted the Select Committee along with the Congress Opposition. Now, Sir, when the Bill has emerged from the Select Committee and is before the House for consideration, we find that so many of our Congress friends like Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri, Mr. Surendra Nath Biswas, Mr. Pratul Chandra Ganguly, Mr. Jnanendra Nath Majumdar and others have tabled a large number of amendments, but nowhere is there any mention in any one of these amendments of the Scheduled Castes or their community as a whole: we can see through these amendments that they have made some provision even for the Muslims, but, alas, there is nothing for the Scheduled Castes who have all along relied on them, have suffered with them and have had their good wishes all along. To our utter disappointment, Sir, here in the amendments tabled by the Congress members nothing is mentioned about their weaker brethren. This shows their real mind. I am afraid, Sir, as a result of our joining with the Congress and having been in the Opposition at great personal sacrifice, the whole Scheduled Caste community will have to suffer for generations to come.

Then, Sir, there is another side of the picture. It has been said that Government always looks upon the Scheduled Castes with kindness and have good intentions for them. But I ask my Scheduled Caste friends over there, what have they done in the Select Committee? We expected that our friends would be able to bring out something from their Coalition friends. But, in spite of the composition of the Scheduled Castes' Committee, not a single improvement has been effected in the Bill. I myself know some of my friends in the Coalition Group: they are very kind and good to us and we always expect something good to come from them. They are not here for their personal gratification at the sacrifice of members on this side. They must do something for their own community. They must realise their own share for their own community and they must not only seek personal gratification and favouritism. It is not good for them to secure personal gratification while we are suffering for them.

Sir, I do not enter into the analysis of the pittance that is given to our share, but I would like to submit one thing about this pittance to Government. The Hon'ble the Chief Minister, in whom we have great confidence, should do something so that these five seats should come to us either independently from the Scheduled Caste representatives or, I am bold to say that these five seats should be nominated by Government itself. We have no objection to that, but we do not want that we should be given to the wolves, wolves on this side and wolves on that side.

About our position I can say this much on behalf of my friends that at present we cannot explain our position. We will watch the development day by day and will take our position according to the position the Bill comes to.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, in supporting the motion of Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri I had an intention to speak in a different trend, but in view of the humorous speech, if I may be allowed to say so, I have altogether changed the direction. It is a very deep, very penetrating, very impressive speech, though the Chief Minister is sleeping all the time just to avoid hearing the speech. Now, Sir, from the speech of our esteemed friend Mr. Kshetra Nath Singha it is abundantly clear that this Bill is nothing but a quarrel over loaves and fishes. Describe any principle you like or any idealism you like, if you so choose, you can mention the name of Islam, try to depict yourselves as the saviour of Islam, but may God save us from these hundreds of saviours of Islam. But in the name of Islam, in the name of education, in the name of idealism, in the name of so many other things do not try to hush up and patch up real things. Just speak like Mr. Singha that you want to divide the spoils, that you want to have the fish, that you want to have the bread, that you want to have the butter. I would understand your situation, but do not try to depict it as an innovation, as the introduction of a new system of education. Do not spoil the name of education. Do not spoil the name of the *alma mater* through which you have come here. If there is a grain of gratitude in you, if there is any sense of gratitude in you, do not give the University a bad name and then hang it. Just after the speech of Mr. Kshetra Nath Singha it gives me an opportunity to speak in this strain. Now, let me discuss the Bill most dispassionately.

Mr. SPEAKER: You had then so long been speaking passionately! (Laughter.)

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Had I not been impassioned, Sir, they would have been impatient.

Now, Sir, in the Statement of Objects and Reasons I find the draft is like this. The object is that the development of Secondary Education cannot be allowed to drift indefinitely upon dangerous currents aimless and uncontrolled. May I know from the Chief Minister what are those dangerous currents? May I know from him what is the aim of this Bill to-day and how long it was aimless and in what direction it was being drifted? Sir, what are those dangerous currents? Are they in the dream of the Chief Minister when he depicted them as aimless? May I know what is the aim of the Chief Minister himself?

Then again, Sir, they say that representation of various communities is guaranteed and interested bodies such as the Universities are adequately represented. The establishment of a Board of Secondary Education will make possible a planned efficient development and control of Secondary Schools and Secondary Education. May I know what is that plan? Is there any plan embodied in this Bill and is there any sensible man who can say that that plan is efficient? If there has been any plan embodied in this Bill I find that that is a plan of communalism all over Bengal, a plan to set fire to the young tender boys of schools who have still been detached from communalism. We the elderly section, we the politically-minded people, are quarelling over loaves and fishes. Now our plan is to poison the brain, to poison the mind of those little boys of the age of 6, 8, 10 or 12, those innocent harmless boys with this injection of communalism. If Calcutta and Dacca have been poisoned with this communalism, the Chief Minister's plan, if it is a plan, is to inject this communalism to every young boy and every young girl in every village, in every subdivision and in every district town. This is the only plan if there is any plan in this Bill. (Mr. AHMED HOSAIN: What about your nationalism?)

If time had permitted I could have given instances whereby you could have understood that we were actuated by nationalism. You have come here only to-day. You are only a stranger in the field of politics; you are only a stranger in the field of education. It was men like ourselves who at the age of 21 having left colleges went into the villages, started night schools and imparted education among the Muhammadan population. Where were you then? Mr. Speaker, Sir, it may be a digression, but since the question has been raised by a member of the Coalition Party, let me say something in this House and the Hon'ble Mr. Suhrawardy will support me in this. Sir, I was intimately known to the Ali Brothers and when Maulana Shaukat Ali came to Calcutta I used to go to see him in the house of Mr. Shaheed Suhrawardy. I knew that Mr. Shaheed Suhrawardy did not like me but still I went and visited him. When within closed doors we were discussing for more than 45 minutes, Mr. Suhrawardy became impatient. He stepped into the room and said, "Well Maulana

Sahib, why are you wasting your time with him? They have not the slightest idea of being fair and just to the Muhammadans." Now that you are intoxicated with power you forget the past. Now that you are in a communal majority, in a majority in the whole of the province, it is the Muslim majority group which is trying to cripple the Hindu interest. Had you been the representatives of Bengal, I would have bowed down to your decision. You have come here on the basis of separate electorate, you have come here on the votes of Muhammadans only and with that protection you say that you represent Bengal and you want to make a legislation which should be obeyed by the people——

Mr. SPEAKER: I am afraid you are digressing too much.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Sir, I have been forced to do so by the members of the Coalition Party; otherwise I had no intention whatsoever to do so.

Sir, the Bill has been based on communal considerations.

Mr. SPEAKER: You please confine your arguments as to why this Bill should not be taken into consideration.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: All right, Sir. In this Bill I would like to say that Government have taken up an undue attitude —an attitude which I cannot support. Government have proposed to take Hindu members in the Board by nomination. I claim to say that the Hindus are not so very inferior and I do not think that any community is so very inferior as to go by the back-door of nomination.

Now, Sir, let me come to the loaves and fishes which the Bill provides. Before I enter into that complicated question, may I ask the Chief Minister to give me one straight reply? Have you got any principle to determine Hindu or Muslim representation? If so, what is it? At the time the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill, now Act, was taken up, you did not agree to accept Muhammadan representatives who would be selected by the joint votes of Hindu and Muslim voters. If that be your principle, if that be your idea, how can you expect that you will give nomination to a few blessed Hindus and the Hindu community will accept them to be their representatives? Be very honest and straight-forward. These unpleasant questions may irritate you, and you may feel annoyed. By chance you are to-day the Chief Minister of Bengal and you are surrounded by flatterers. (Cries of "question" from the Coalition Benches.) There are people who have their own rights and who have their own privileges, and they cannot wait and forsake them simply because you happen to be the Chief Minister.

Mr. SPEAKER: May I ask, Mr. Ghose to address me?

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: All right, Sir. May I ask through you, Sir, this question as to why the people of Bengal who once adored the Chief Minister one day have now lost their confidence in him? May I ask him through you, Sir, to explain how such a thing has taken place? It is an open secret, Sir, that a large section of the people of Bengal have lost confidence in Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq. He knows it, I know it and everybody knows it, but may I know how it so happened? The people who once adored Maulvi A. K. Fazlul Huq—the very same people have now lost their confidence in him. And why? It is because of communal spirit and communal consideration that such an unpleasant thing has taken place in their attitude towards the late Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq (laughter from the Opposition Benches)—I would say the late Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, because in our vision he is dead and gone. He is now a changed man—a man in whom we have lost all confidence.

Mr. SPEAKER: I believe you are speaking dispassionately. (Laughter.)

Dr. NALINAKSHYA SANYAL: Long live Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq!

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Sir, in the course of the speech which he delivered at the time of introducing this Bill he said that one of the objectives was to make the Board autonomous. How he has made the Board autonomous is more than transparent when we read the sections whereby Government takes away all powers of the Board. Government controls the Board at every stage, in every form and at every step and still he says that one of the objectives is to make the Board autonomous. If this be the sign of autonomy, I do not know how to crush an institution and how to control things.

Sir, may I now come to the other side of the thing, namely, the setting up of several committees. In every committee, I find that there is communal colour, communal spirit permeating. If time permits, I can show you, Sir, quoting clauses and sections in which different provisions have been made, that everything is pure and simple communal. In clause 19 (*1*) (*g*) (*i*) the provision runs thus: "Provided further that of the two such inspecting officers one shall be a Muslim and one shall be a Hindu." In every clause, in every section we find that the outlook is that if there are four members, two will be Hindus and two will be Muslims and if there are two members one will be a Hindu and the other will be a Muslim. Is this spirit in consonance with an Education Bill and with educational institutions?

Sir, the most pathetic sight is noticeable when it is stated: "Provided that if the person referred to in clause (*d*) is not a Muslim, the person co-opted under clause (*g*) shall be a Muslim, and if the person referred to in clause (*d*) is a Muslim, the person co-opted under clause (*g*) shall be a Hindu." What a fine and nice pre-arrangement and still they say that this Bill is not of a communal character A fine pre-arrangement no doubt! When we come to education proper, we find a Muslim instructor for Muslim education, a Scheduled Caste instructor for Scheduled Caste education and a Caste Hindu instructor for the education of Caste Hindus. Sir, education is education. I do not find any Director of Physical Instruction. Just appoint a Muslim Director of physical education and a Director of Scheduled Caste physical education. Appoint Directors for Muslim mental education, Scheduled Caste mental education and Caste Hindu mental education. Here, Sir, the ideology is Muslim and everything is Muslim. I remember, Sir, one day you asked me to maintain the standard of this House, but where there is no standard it is impossible to maintain it. It has become like "Hindu *cha*" or "Muslim *cha*"; the Bill is like that. Hindus so many members, Muslims so many members and Scheduled Castes so many members. Throw this Bill into the platform of the Howrah station and let the vendors say "Hindu *cha*" "Muslim *cha*"!

With these words, Sir, I finish my speech and my appeal to Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq or the late Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq is: come forward with that spirit, with that outlook and with that attitude if there is still life in you. (Applause from Congress Benches.)

Srijut NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA : Mr. Speaker, Sir, গত বৎসর যখন এই বিল উপস্থাপিত হয় তখন আমার সুযোগ হয়নি এই Assemblyতে উপস্থিত হয়ে সে সম্বন্ধে কিছু আলোচনা করার। যখন আমরা এই বিলের বিরুদ্ধে প্রতিবাদ করতে যাই তখন European সম্প্রদায়ের মুখপাত্র স্বরূপ Mr. Wordsworth বলেছিলেন "I hope that in the Select Committee we may do certain things—we may reduce officialism, we may smooth corners in communalism." যখন Wordsworth সাহেব আশ্বাস দিয়ে এই কথা বলেছিলেন তখন Select Committeeতে এই বিল পাঠান হয়নি। কিন্তু, Select Committee থেকে এই বিল বের হবার পরে দেখা গেল তাঁহার সেই আশ্বাস বিন্দুমাত্রও কার্য্যে পরিণত হয় নাই। পরন্তু আমরা দেখতে পাচ্ছি Select Committee থেকে যে Bill এসেছে তাতে সরকারী প্রভাব আরও বেড়ে গিয়েছে, সাম্প্রদায়িকতার কদর্য্য নগ্নতা আরও বেশী পরিমাণে আত্মপ্রকাশ করেছে। এই Billএর মধ্যে দেখছি memberএর সংখ্যা ৫০ থেকে কমিয়ে ৪৮ করা হয়েছে। এই দুই জন member কোথা থেকে কমলো সেটা বিল দেখলেই বুঝতে পারা যায়। হিন্দুদের মধ্য থেকে এই দুই জন কমিয়ে দেওয়া হয়েছে। (Remark from Coalition Party: Wrong, wrong.) শুধু এই বিলটা পড়লেই দেখতে

পাবেন wrong কি right. তবে যদি আমাদের Muslim ভাইগণ বলেন আমরা অত শাস্ত্র জানিনা, সে কথা আলাদা। মুখবন্ধ থেকে আরম্ভ করে এই বিলের মধ্যে যে সব ধারা এবং উপধারাগুলি সন্নিবেশিত হয়েছে তাতে দুইটি বিষয় বিশেষ করে চোখে পড়ে। প্রথমটি হচ্ছে, সরকারী প্রভাবকে আরও দৃঢ় করা, দ্বিতীয়টি হচ্ছে সাম্প্রদায়িক বিষদ্বারা শিক্ষা-ক্ষেত্রকে জর্জরিত করা। আমি নিজে বিশ্বাস করি যে দেশের শিক্ষা ব্যবস্থার মধ্যে ধর্ম্ম ও নীতি শিক্ষার একান্ত প্রয়োজন আছে। যাঁরা মনে করেন ধর্ম্ম ও নীতিকে বাদ দিয়ে কেবলমাত্র মানসিক উৎকর্ষ সাধনের মধ্যেই শিক্ষাকে আবদ্ধ রাখা উচিত আমি তাঁদের সঙ্গে এক মত নই। আজ British Government প্রদত্ত ক্ষমতার অপব্যবহার করে এক সম্প্রদায় আর এক সম্প্রদায়ের সর্ব্বনাশ করতে উদ্যত হয়েছে। আমি জানি মানুষ যখন অবিবেচক এবং স্বার্থপর হয় তখন সে দস্যুতা করে পরের সম্পত্তি অপহরণ করতে বিন্দুমাত্র কুণ্ঠিত হয় না। কিন্তু, লুণ্ঠিত গৃহস্বামীদের আশ্বাস থাকে যে এই দস্যুদের দমনের জন্য গভর্ণমেণ্টের আইন আছে। কিন্তু, যখন গভর্ণমেণ্ট আইনের বলে সম্প্রদায় বিশেষের অধিকারকে লুণ্ঠণ করতে উদ্যত হয় তখন সেই দস্যু গভর্ণমেণ্টকে দমন করবার জন্য কে আছে? এই বিলের ধারাগুলির মধ্যে শিক্ষা সম্বন্ধে সামান্য জ্ঞানও আত্মপ্রকাশ করে নাই। যদি কোন দেশের শিক্ষা পদ্ধতি, প্রাথমিক শিক্ষা থেকে আরম্ভ করে বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের উচ্চশিক্ষা পর্য্যন্ত কোন সামঞ্জস্য স্থাপিত না হয়ে গড়ে ওঠে তাহলে সেই শিক্ষা আত্মবিদ্রোহী হয়ে, সেই শিক্ষা পদ্ধতিকে পণ্ড করে দেয়। Primary Educationএর সঙ্গে Secondary Education এবং Secondary Educationএর সঙ্গে University Educationএর কি সম্পর্ক হবে এই বিলে তা নেই। এখানে মাত্র আছে কি প্রকারে Secondary Educationকে control করা যায়। Control করার উদ্দেশ্য কি তা বুঝতে বিন্দুমাত্র দেরী হয় না। একবার দেখুন Primary Education Boardএর কার্য্য কিরূপে চলছে। বাংলার হিন্দু পল্লীতে বহু Primary School দক্ষতার সহিত পরিচালিত হয়ে এসেছে এবং District Boardএ মুসলমান সংখ্যা গরিষ্ঠ থাকা সত্বেও স্কুলগুলিকে grants-in-aid দেওয়া হয়েছে। হঠাৎ একদিন প্রাতঃকালে দেখা গেল এই স্কুলগুলির কোন অস্তিত্ব নেই। নূতন কতকগুলি স্কুল মুসলমান পাড়ায় গড়ে উঠেছে। এই Secondary Education Bill পাশ হলে বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের অধীনস্থ যতগুলি বিদ্যালয় আছে সেগুলি দু বৎসর পরে বন্ধ হয়ে যাবে। তারপর আবার নূতন করে সেই স্কুলগুলিকে Boardএর সম্মতি নিতে হবে। আজ বাংলা-দেশে যত স্কুল আছে তার মধ্যে ৩/৪ অংশ হিন্দুর অর্থে ও সাহায্যে স্থাপিত হয়েছে। মাত্র কয়েকটী স্কুল মুসলমানদের ও ইংরেজ পাদ্রীদের চেষ্টায় স্থাপিত হয়েছে। এখন আবার হিন্দুদের মধ্যে দুইটি ভাগ করার চেষ্টা হচ্ছে—Caste Hindu এবং Scheduled Castes—আবার কেউ কেউ বলছেন কাষ্ট হিন্দু ও "শিনুল" কাঠ। ভারতে মোমিন মুসলমানদের সংখ্যা ৪ কোটী। তারা শরিফ মুসলমানদের দ্বারা নিপীড়িত বঞ্চিত হয়ে যখন আলাদা সংরক্ষণ ও চাকুরীর সুবিধার দাবী করে তখন মুসলিম লীগের শরিফ মুসলমানগণ বিন্দুমাত্র দরদ দেখান প্রয়োজন মনে করেন নি কিন্তু হিন্দুদের বেলায়, হিন্দুদের তপসীলভুক্ত কতগুলি শ্রেণীর বেলায় তাহাদের দরদের অন্ত নাই; কিন্তু সে দরদ যে

কতখানি ধাপ্পাবাজীর উপর প্রতিষ্ঠিত, এই বিলের ধারা আলোচনা করিলেই তাহার স্পষ্ট হইবে। যেমন Briti h Government হিন্দু-মুসলমানদের মধ্যে বিভেদ সৃষ্টি করছেন ঠিক তেমনি ভাবে বর্ব্বর মনোবৃত্তি দ্বারা পরিচালিত হয়ে Muslim League হিন্দুদের মধ্যে বিভেদ সৃষ্টি করবার চেষ্টা করছে। যে Muslim League হিন্দুদের বিরুদ্ধে অভিযান চালাচ্ছে তারা যে হিন্দুদের মঙ্গল করবে সে আশা করা দুরাশা মাত্র। তাদের মতলব হিন্দুর মধ্যে বিভেদ সৃষ্টি করে দুই অংশকেই পর পর ধ্বংস করে হিন্দু জাতিকে শেষ করা। বর্ত্তমানে বাংলা দেশে যে শিক্ষা গড়ে উঠেছে তা প্রধানতঃ হিন্দুদের অর্থে ও ত্যাগে। হিন্দুরা যে সমস্ত স্কুল করেছে তা কেবল হিন্দুদের জন্য নয় হিন্দু, মুসলমান, খৃষ্টান সকলের জন্যই করেছে।

গভর্ণমেণ্টের ঔদাসিন্য এবং বিরোধিতার মধ্য দিয়ে, এক উদার ভাবধারায় প্রণোদিত হয়ে, হিন্দুরা বাংলাদেশের শিক্ষাকে গড়ে তুলেছেন, সেই "গড়া ঘরে" আগুণ লাগাবার জন্য বর্ত্তমান লীগ মন্ত্রীমণ্ডলী এই বিল আনয়ন করেছেন। (Laughter from Coalition Benche-.) হাসুন, হাসুন। যে পর্য্যন্ত British Government আছে, যতদিন তারা ভারতের রাজ্য পরিচালনা করবে ততদিন তাহাদের আশ্রয়পুষ্ট প্রসাদভোজী আপনারা হাসবেন। যে দিন British সাম্রাজ্যবাদের অবসান হবে সেদিন দূরে নয়, হয়ত এই Bill pa s হওয়ার সঙ্গে সঙ্গেই ব্রিটিশ রাজত্ব "pass" হয়ে যাবে। ভালমানুষের হাতে ক্ষমতা এলে সে অন্ধ ও উন্মাদ হয়ে যে কোন দুষ্কার্য্য করতে বিন্দুমাত্র দ্বিধাবোধ করে না, সেই অবস্থায় অন্ধ অবিবেকীর হাতে ক্ষমতা তুলে দিলে, যে ক্ষমতা তার নিজের অর্জিত নয় অপরের দুর্ব্বুদ্ধিকে কার্য্যে পরিণত করার জন্য যে ক্ষমতা তাকে দেয়া হয়েছে, সে যে কি মূর্ত্তি ধারণ করে, এই বিল সম্পূর্ণ রূপে তার প্রমাণ করছে। আমার মুসলমান ভাইরা যদি মনে করেন তাঁরা হিন্দুদের শিক্ষার আদর্শকে ধ্বংস করে বাংলার বুকে মিরজাফরী রাজত্ব প্রতিষ্ঠিত করতে সমর্থ হবেন তাহলে বলছি তাঁরা আকাশে সৌধ নির্ম্মাণ করছেন। হিন্দুর অর্থ, মণীষা ও ত্যাগের ফলে বাংলার বিদ্যালয়গুলি গড়ে উঠেছে। Government-এর বিরোধিতা সত্বেও নূতন নূতন বিদ্যালয় গড়ে উঠেছে। যদি হিন্দুর অর্থে ও ত্যাগের দ্বারা গড়ে তোলা শিক্ষাকে কেহ ধ্বংস করার আয়োজন করে থাকে তাহলে ভস্মলোচনের মত তার দশা হবে।

Mr. MANMATHA NATH ROY: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the matter which is before us to-day is of vital importance. Any wrong step will be fraught with the gravest danger to the country and the nation. We expected from the Hon'ble the Chief Minister a statement of the policy of the Government, when he moved that the Bill along with the report of the Select Committee, be taken into consideration, but we have been sadly disappointed. It is really very unfortunate that the Bill should be rushed through in this manner.

Sir, at the very outset in this Bill we find a provision which is mischievous on principle. The Bill is intended for secondary education, but we do not find in the Bill any definition as to what form of education is secondary education and the strange part of the thing is that

the Provincial Government has been directed to determine what form of education should be secondary education. Sir, there can be no proposal more pernicious than this. The Bill should determine what form of education is secondary education, whether it is secular education for both the communities or education intended for only one community and what are the different forms of secondary education contemplated. This is the function of the Legislature and the Provincial Government should not be allowed to usurp this function of the Legislature in this matter of vital importance.

Sir, the next obnoxious thing that we find in the Bill is that seats have been allotted in the Board, in the Executive Council and other Committees on a communal basis. These are all academic bodies in the constitution of which politics or the politics of communalism must be discarded. The temple of learning should not be allowed to be desecrated with such communal and non-academic considerations.

Again, the distribution of seats among the two communities has been very unjust and unfair to the Hindu community and they have got far less than what they are entitled to on the basis of the school-going population The Calcutta University which will provide for the post-secondary stage must have more than 5 representatives on the Board. Any argument in support of this is hardly necessary.

Sir, we next find that the President is to be appointed by the Government. This is a relic and an anachronism of the past. Prejudices die hard no doubt but there is no justification whatsoever for introducing this in this new measure.

Then in clauses 11A, 12 and 14, we find that the Vice-President is not to be trusted. The President cannot delegate powers to the Vice-President, and the Vice-President cannot discharge the duties of the President during temporary vacancies except with the sanction of the Provincial Government. Amazing indeed! Such a proposal is unknown in the annals of any self-governing institution and the Bill must be so modified as to give the Vice-President the power to exercise the functions of the President on such occasions. You must trust the Vice-President and the Board which elected him.

Then in clause 18, the Select Committee have gone beyond the scope of the Bill. In the Bill it was provided that the Board would not hold the Matriculation Examination, but the Select Committee now suggest that the Matriculation Examination or an examination equivalent to it will be held by the Board. It seems to me that as we did not agree to serve on the Select Committee, this vindictive proposal has been made outside the scope of the Bill.

Then again, there is no provision for the payment of any compensation to the University. By holding the Matriculation Examination

the University derives an income which is utilised for higher education and the University will be seriously handicapped if compensation is not given to it.

Then, Sir, in clause 20 there is an astounding provision that all schools recognised by the Calcutta University, however efficient they may be, will lose recognition after the expiry of two years from the passing of this Bill. Secondary education, Sir, has largely been the result of private enterprise. Most of the schools have been efficiently managed and maintained on private generosity to the extent of several crores of rupees all these years and they have done their work as well as was expected of them and it would be brutal—I cannot find another word for it—to kill all these institutions by a stroke of the Legislature.

Then, Sir, one very important essential is that the Board should be autonomous. It must not be a mere department of the Government and it must be allowed to work free from any governmental domination —I deliberately use the word "domination"—and untrammelled by extra-academic considerations. It must be in the power of the Board to approve of its own budget and the sanction of the Government should not be necessary. Look at other self-governing institutions. The sanction of the Government is required only in very exceptional cases. The provision of Government grant, as we find in the Bill, is ridiculously low and cannot bring about any improvement. The mere setting up of a Board without adequate fund cannot bring about any improvement in secondary education. The Board should have the authority to enter in its Budget such amount as is required for the purpose of the Act and the Government should be expected to make the necessary provision.

Then, Sir, we find certain clauses of the Bill, namely, clauses 43, 45 and 46 under which Government can inspect the Board, suspend any resolution of the Board and reconstitute the Board. These, Sir, are wholly inconsistent with the autonomy which such a Board must possess in order that it may discharge its functions properly with a view to educate the country and the nation.

Then, Sir, in the constitution of the Executive Council we find a provision that out of 16 or 17 persons there will be the Director of Public Instruction, the Assistant Directors of Public Instruction, Deputy Directress of Public Instruction for Female Education and two Inspectors and it cannot but be conceded that these latter four are all subordinates to the Director of Public Instruction and cannot therefore have any independent voice or existence in the Council, with the result that the Director of Public Instruction will have a solid block of five to vote with him. Sir, we must also take note of one fact, namely, that public good will is necessary in the composition of the

new authority and we cannot forget to what large extent the country has been agitated over the revolutionary (Mr. JOGESH CHANDRA GUPTA: Reactionary.) yes, reactionary provisions of the Bill.

Then, Sir, there are other matters with regard to which the sanction of Government has been provided for. The making of regulations by the Board is proposed to be subject to the sanction of Government. Why should it be so? Cannot the Board be trusted to do this?

Then, with regard to the conditions framed for the distribution of grants, they are to be subject to the approval of Government. Why is that necessary? (Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Because it is autonomous.) Don't you trust your Board?

Then, Sir, the question of eligibility for election and appointment of members of the Board is a matter for the judiciary to decide and the Government must not be allowed to usurp that function.

I may finally say that if the autonomy of the Calcutta University in respect of the Matriculation Examination is touched, the Matriculation will lose much of its sanctity in the country.

With these words I support the motion for recommittal.

Adjournment.

It being 8-25 p.m.—

The House was adjourned till 4-45 p.m., on Wednesday, the 3rd September, 1941, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Wednesday, the 3rd September, 1941, at 4-45 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Sir MUHAMMAD AZIZUL HAQUE, C.I.E., Khan Bahadur) in the Chair, 9 Hon'ble Ministers and 200 members.

STARRED QUESTION

(to which oral answer was given)

State-aid to Industries Fund.

***103. Mr. M. MOSLEM ALI MOLLAH:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Agriculture and Industries Department be pleased to state whether there is any State-aid to Industries Fund under the Government of Bengal?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) the year when the Fund was created; and

(*ii*) the names of the donors to the Fund with the amount of donation given by each since its creation?

MINISTER in charge of the AGRICULTURE and INDUSTRIES DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan): (*a*) Yes.

(*b*) (*i*) 1933.

(*ii*) A statement is laid on the Table.

Statement referred to in reply to clause (b)(ii) of starred question No. 103.

LIST OF DONORS.

Name of Donor.	Amount donated. Cash. Rs.	a.	p.	Security value. Rs.	Date of receipt.
(1) Mr. S. C. Mitter, Industrial Engineer, now Director of Industries, Bengal.	10,000	0	0	..	5th April, 1933.
(2) Khan Sahib Maulvi M. S. Azizuddin.	2,500	0	0	..	Ditto.
(3) Rai A. N. Das Bahadur	1,000	0	0	..	Ditto.
(4) Mr. G. D. Birla ..	2,000	0	0	..	Ditto.
(5) Rai Dr. U. N. Brahmachari Bahadur.	..			10,000	13th June, 1933.
(6) The Hon'ble Nawab K. G. M. Faroqui, Khan Bahadur.	..			4,400	Ditto.
(7) Ditto ..	..			600	26th June, 1933.
(8) Mr. Hurdot Roy Motilal Chamaria.	15,000	0	0	..	7th July, 1933.
(9) Sir Harisankar Paul, Kt.	8,544	4	4	..	24th August, 1933.
Total ..	39,044	4	4	15,000	

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the Government intend to bring in a State-Aid to Industries (Amendment) Bill very soon?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: The Bill has already been introduced in another place.

UNSTARRED QUESTION

(answer to which was laid on the table)

Carnival at Ramkeli fair in Malda.

79. Mr. ATUL CHANDRA KUMAR: (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department aware—

(*i*) that the Ramkeli fair in Malda district is a pilgrimage for Vaishnavas; and

(*ii*) that a carnival party was allowed permission for gambling there?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) (*ii*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether any donation was realised for the War Fund from the said carnival at Ramkeli?

MINISTER in charge of the HOME DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): (*a*) (*i*) Yes.

(*ii*) No.

(*b*) Does not arise.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: With reference to answer (*a*)(*ii*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the purpose of allowing permission to the carnival party?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: The answer is in the negative.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: I am sorry, I did not notice it before.

Delay in answering questions.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: Mr. Speaker, Sir, may I invite your attention to a matter which was mentioned to you by my honourable friend, Mr. Charu Chandra Roy 5 times, and I am endeavouring to do so for the 6th time? The speed at which questions are answered——

Mr. SPEAKER: I have, as a matter of fact, this morning looked through the whole file, and I propose to inform the Government that there must be more questions answered.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: The point is that we after giving notice of a question have to wait for 12 days according to the rules and even if it takes a longer time, it can only take a reasonably longer time.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have myself seen the file. I believe there are about one dozen questions concerning one department and about 5 or 6 questions concerning another department which should have been answered by this time.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: I do hope, Sir, that you will take very serious notice of it, and you will see that it may not be necessary for any member to mention it on the floor of the House again.

Mr. SPEAKER: If no notice is taken, we shall have to devise some other means.

Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: I hope that my sixth time will be the last time that we shall have to mention about it.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: About six months back, I put a question with regard to Calcutta tenants and from the Local Self-Government Department I understand that after a long delay they have given a reply to that question. Will you please enquire, Sir, whether the reply has come to this department?

Mr. SPEAKER: Just send me a note about your question and then I shall do the needful.

GOVERNMENT BILL.

Bengal Secondary Education Bill.

Mr. SPEAKER: The House will now resume further discussion on the Bengal Secondary Education Bill.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Sir, I rise to give my whole-hearted support to that very pertinent motion, namely, the motion for recommittal of the Bill to the Select Committee moved so very ably by my esteemed friend Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri. I do not dare improve on the suggestions that were put forward by him last evening and I believe that any Government that have at heart the welfare of the people of this province will have no hesitation to accept those lines

of suggestions for amendments. I also draw the attention of this House to the unbiassed criticism that was offered by Mr. Manmatha Nath Ray which also deserves very careful attention from Government. Before going into the Bill itself, I should like to take you to those observations made in the recommentations of the Calcutta University Commission and I believe that they will give us some assistance in considering impartially the Bill and its provisions. Every one of us is aware that that Commission took very great care before recommending a new authority, namely, the Board of Secondary Education to ascertain the circumstances. I shall only quote a dozen sentences from Chapter XXXI, Part II, Volume IV of the report of the Calcutta University Commission. Sir, those are the important observations that they wanted the Government to keep in view in constituting the Secondary Education Board and in developing the education and educational system in the province. They observed: "no boys and girls should be shut out either by the straitened means of their parents or by the remoteness of their home from access to the training, etc." Then again "to restrict education would be unjust and short-sighted". They also felt that "the country needs more and better education".

On page 30, in discussing how this reorganisation may be successful, they say that "such a reorganisation will be successful in proportion to the good will with which it is viewed by the public at large. The public must feel assured that the proposed changes will give larger and more varied educational opportunities to the younger generation and that the financial sacrifices which they entail may confidently be expected to yield a remunerative return". Later on they say on page 31 "The feeling springs from a conviction, or it might be truer to say from an instinct, that education should not be controlled in all its vital issues by a bureaucracy, however competent and disinterested, acting in the name of the Government". Later on they proceeded to say that it must have behind it a strong movement of public opinion and it must be accompanied by greatly increased expenditure from the public funds.

Now, Sir, let us examine and scrutinise the Bill itself whether these recommendations hav been followed in formulating the Bill. I think, Sir, that nobody in this House can have anything to say against these observations and I believe they will readily accept these observations as very good observations and suggestions for constitution of the Board and for really developing the education and the educational system in this province.

Now, if we look to the Bill we see that the Select Committee has done some improvement in the original drafting of the Bill, namely, they have added the word "development" in the preamble and in some

clauses, but I do not find any trace or any line of suggestion whatsoever as to how they are going to develop the education and the educational system except the addition of the word "development". From a close study of the Bill it is seen that they have only tried to control and regulate education. Though the recommendation, as I quoted before, was that it would be a short-sighted policy to decrease the number of the present educational institutions, we see from a clause in the Bill that after the expiration of two years automatically affiliation to all the existing educational institutions will cease. Now, nobody can say that this affiliation was granted for no reason or purpose whatsoever. When this Bill will be passed into an Act and enforced, these institutions will be allowed to run for two years. Therefore, it may be said that apparently Government do not think that this affiliation was granted to these institutions wrongly or unjustly. So, what reason can there be to discontinue this affiliation after two years if it is not in the mind of the Government to abolish a large number of existing educational institutions If we look into the clauses which provide for expenditure for development of education, we are constrained to say that the grant has been very scanty and against the observation that larger and larger sums should be provided from public funds. From the Government report we find that only one-sixth or rather 13 per cent. of the total expenditure is borne by the Government towards the maintenance of these educational institutions. Now, over and above that they have added only Rs. 25 lakhs. It is really very ridiculous and cannot be said to help in any way the real development of education and the educational system of the province.

As regards the number of persons that will constitute the parent Board, I submit, Sir, that the number has been very unwieldy. There was some observation made by the Calcutta University Commission regarding this number to constitute the Board. They said: * * * Bengal with strict limitation of number which is desirable on grounds of economy and for administrative convenience—I am quoting only a portion of a sentence.

Now, we have seen in the clauses that this body in order to continue their work will incur a very large sum and for that Rs. 1 lakh is provided.

Now, Sir, if we examine some of the provisions of clause 18 where powers of the Board have been given, we find that though the power of preparing the syllabus has been taken away from the Calcutta University, though the power of publication of text-books has been taken away from the University and though all sorts of control in holding and managing examinations have been taken away from the University, still strangely it has been mentioned in the clause that that Matriculation Examination will be the Matriculation Examination of the

Calcutta University. In constituting the Executive Council two members have been taken who are not members of the parent body. I think that is against the general principle on which executive councils are formed. Not satisfied with this control, there have been inserted two clauses in the Bill, namely, clauses 45 and 46 by which the parent body, the Executive Council and other committees have been practically made non-entity committees and all sorts of control have been kept with the Government.

So, Sir, to summarise my arguments I should say that the Board has really been another department of Government. We therefore, suggest that this Bill should be recommitted to the Select Committee for further consideration. This Bill should not be passed in this House with indecent haste. Everybody knows that the Government party, if it so wishes, can pass the Bill even in the teeth of Opposition.

(At this stage the member reached the time-limit but was allowed one minute's time.)

It is very regrettable to see the unreasonable attitude of the party in power. It even refuses to allow some time to the informal committee which is sitting for the purpose of arriving at an agreed solution. It might have not only saved the time of this House if it could have come to any agreement, but also saved a disaster and the retardation which are sure to come upon the educational system of this province, if the Bill is passed without the desired modifications suggested by the Opposition. It is no credit on the part of the party to hasten the Bill. They should keep in mind that it is not by mere force of their numerical strength that the Bill should be passed, but they should try to convince the Opposition by arguments and then pass the Bill.

With these words I support the motion of recommittal.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: On a point of order, Sir. Your attention was drawn to the fact that the Minister in charge of the Bill was absent and you have been good enough to say that he is being represented. We find that there are three Ministers in the Treasury Benches—one is talking with another gentleman, two others are sleeping over the matter. No notes are being taken. Are we here to discuss things in an unreal atmosphere?

Mr. Khwaja SHAHABUDDIN: Sir, I was one of the members of the Select Committee. I am also a Parliamentary Secretary. I am taking notes and shall take notes on important points, if necessary.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Mr. Speaker, I remember to have read a book by a distinguished English writer which begins with the line "dear reader, let me tell you at the outset what my book is not.

It is nothing about such and such things." The preamble to this Bill might as well and appropriately begin with the line "let it be said at the outset what this Bill is not—it is nothing about education". Yes, this Bill has nothing to do with education, its title notwithstanding. It is a mere power-grabbing measure of a political-cum-communal nature in the field of education. It is an undisguised attempt by an uninformed and problematic political majority to dominate others in the field of education. It begins with the basic assumption which is but a half-truth, *viz.*, that "secondary education in Bengal is at present uncontrolled". I do not propose to enter into a detailed examination of this question beyond saying that it is only a plausible excuse for introducing a power-grabbing measure under the guise of an educational reform. It is known that since the Education Despatch of 1854 the Government policy has been one of gradual withdrawal from the field of secondary education in the province. This policy, whatever its motive might have been, had this one redeeming feature that it left secondary education free to develop itself with little or no interference from the State though it did not supply the necessary means for its development which it might as well do without binding it to the chariot wheels of the Government.

From the Bill that has been placed before the House it does not seem that the Government have at all realised the vastness and the complicatedness of the educational problem that confronts them and the country to-day—a problem, which you, Sir, characterised the other day from your place in this House as "the greatest problem that was baffling India and was standing in the way of satisfactory progress". They talk glibly of "control" "plan" and "development" of secondary education without realising what these words really imply. They do not formulate what is absolutely essential for the purpose and what the Sadler Commission called "a constructive educational policy" by which I would mean an educational drive towards the resolution of the great cultural and socio-economic crisis that has overtaken the land to-day. I am afraid they are merely toying with educational ideology. They do not propose to set apart necessary funds to work out the vast educational programme which must be the practical counter-part of an education Bill. They intend to do nothing more or nothing less, as can be read between the lines, than reduce the number of the existing schools in utter disregard of the salutary principle laid down by the Sadler Commission, *viz.*, that Bengal must have "more and better education". They will give us less education but not better education. In a word their vision does not extend beyond the political objective of having more power for themselves and the community which dominate them in the field of education as elsewhere though there is no justification historical or otherwise for this act of aggrandisement.

I have characterised the Bill as a power-grabbing measure. While the Sadler Commission made it abundantly clear that the Secondary Education Board "must be autonomous in so far as its administration is concerned", this Bill makes the board completely subservient to the Secretariat as may be seen from sections 32, 45, 46, 47 and 51. Time will not permit a detailed examination of this aspect of the question. I will conclude it by pointing out the danger of "linking education far too closely with political events and uncertainties". It is bound to lead to a political abuse of the educational machinery by landing it in the most dangerous way to the machinations of the unscrupulous and partisan Government of to-day and also of the future of which there will be no dearth so long as the Communal Award remains. We cannot, therefore, lend our support to it.

Now, a few words about the communal aspect of the Bill. While speaking on the Bill last year I said that we on this side of the House on principle stood opposed to any communal representation in the field of education. Believing as we do in the nation-building value of education, we do not see how the question of communal representation comes in. If we take up the practical side of education first, say, education in agriculture and industry, which the Sadler Commission stressed so much in their report, who is there so original among us to suggest that there is something called Muslim agriculture and Muslim industry as a science as distinguished from Hindu agriculture and Hindu industry and *vice versa* which necessitates the appointment of an Agriculture-Industry Board on communal lines?

Next, Sir, if it be the question of appointing a Board of Educational Experts, who is there so original as to suggest that the fundamental educational principles that govern the Muslim mind must be distinguished from those that govern the Hindu mind and *vice versa* which necessitates the composition of the Board on communal lines? I must not insult the intelligence of the Minister in charge of the Bill by suggesting that he really believes in any such silly non-sense. But there is one aspect of the question, *viz.*, the cultural aspect which may from the communal point of view exercise the mind of an honest explorer in the field. There may be a lurking suspicion in the mind of one community that the other may through education and the educational machinery make a cultural domination over it. It is openly hinted that the Hindu mind is at present dominating education and educational ideas in the land. Yes, this is true and for historical reasons. When the English culture invaded this land the Hindu mind with its innate catholicity and receptiveness drank deep of this culture while our Muslim brethren stood sullenly away. The Hindu mind not being "feminine", to use a scientific term, was not absorbed by the onrush of western ideas. On the contrary being enriched by the

new ideas the Hindu mind began to build up a new culture—not a Hindu culture in the narrow sense, but an Indian culture, a composite culture, in which all communities must share and to which all communities and individuals, Hindus and Mussalmans, Rabindranath and Iqbal alike must contribute if they love themselves, their community and the land they inhabit and want to earn for it an honoured place in the community of nations.

Sir, this is the ideal which the progressive Hindu mind has been pursuing for more than a century. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, with his burning faith in Hindu culture and his love for the Muslim and English culture, started the movement which culminated in Poet Rabindranath Tagore. Unfortunately we notice to-day an upheaval of sectarian and separatist tendencies bolstered up by interested politicians. It is being assiduously preached that the cultural differences between the Hindus and the Mussalmans are so pronounced and insurmountable that the salvation of the communities lies in political and cultural isolation. We do not subscribe to this doctrine. We regard cultural differences as mere mental angularities which without losing the mental substance may be rounded off by closer and closer political and cultural contact—by creating a composite culture of all communities inhabiting the land, no community having to lose the substance of its own culture. And we believe that it is in the laboratory of Secondary Education more than anywhere else that this invaluable nation-building substance can be manufactured.

It is in this view of things that we stand opposed to communal representation in education. We cannot, therefore, lend our support to the Board as proposed. We want people, Hindus and Mussalmans, in what proportion at any time we do not mind if they be of the right sort, who have imbibed the spirit of the new culture and been elected on non-communal lines, to guide the destiny of secondary education in the province. This is not possible from communal representation. We, therefore, oppose it If there be any people who are determined to cling to the old, narrow and communal way of looking at things let them devote their energies to *tols* and *madrassahs* maintained exclusively under communal patronage, but let them not meddle with modern education which must be the sole concern of men with new ideas. In a word communalism must be banned from secondary education as we understand it.

If, however, it is thought that in the existing circumstances communal representation in a limited form has got to be conceded for some time to come, it must be done in a fairly equitable manner. The contributions by the communities concerned in labour, money and

students must be taken into consideration in working out a proper communal ratio at any time. But I leave this arithmetical calculation to other and more competent hands.

Babu PREM HARI BARMA: Sir, I rise to support the recommittal motion moved by Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri. The Secondary Education Bill, as presented in the House and also as reported by the Select Committee, has not been conceived for the advancement and spread of secondary education or for the betterment of secondary education. But the Bill has been conceived with the sole motive of taking the full control of secondary education in the province of Bengal by the Government. Sir, full control of secondary education by Government means that secondary education in the province will be a plaything of party politics. Whichever political party will be at the helm of Government at any time will control and decide the course of secondary education in the province. Sir, the education of the children of the soil to whichever community they might belong ought to be above all party or communal questions. The Sadler Commission had distinctly pointed out on page 30 of Volume IV, Part II of their report that such "a reorganisation of the Secondary Education in the province will be successful in proportion to the goodwill with which it is viewed by the public at large. The public must feel assured that the proposed changes will give larger and more varied educational opportunities to the younger generation and that the financial sacrifices which they may entail may confidently be expected to yield a remunerative return. Above all the Central Educational Authority must be so constituted as to command the confidence of the different sections of the community whose co-operation is indispensable to the success of any adequate plan of educational reform." Sir, the Bill as presented before the House does not carry any confidence of the different sections of the people of Bengal. Nobody can deny the fact that the Bill has evoked widespread agitation and alarm in the whole of non-Muslim community of Bengal. The non-Muslims of Bengal apprehend that if the present Bill be put on the Statute Book then the education and culture of the Hindu community will be at stake.

Sir, I appeal to the Muslim friends that when they have got the power to wield the destiny of secondary education in the province, they should not exercise that power in such a way as to lose the confidence of other communities in the province and thereby bring about distrust and ill-feeling among the different communities of Bengal.

Sir, the educational policy of the Government should be above communal bias and above party politics. The present Bill has been drafted with a set purpose of giving too much power of control of secondary education to a particular community. Sir, if it is the

intention of the Government that different communities of Bengal should have adequate representation in the matter of secondary education in the province, then that policy also has not been strictly adhered to in this Bill. Sir, the Scheduled Castes of Bengal represent one of the major communities of Bengal and they are in urgent and immediate need of proper and adequate representation in all organisations and institutions concerning education. But, Sir, I regret very much to say that the case of Scheduled Castes of Bengal has not been fully and sympathetically considered by the Government and by those who took part in giving shape to the present Bill. Having regard to the numerical strength of the Scheduled Caste population of Bengal and also having regard to the backwardness of the Scheduled Castes in education, the representation of the Scheduled Castes in the proposed Secondary Education Board and in other committees of the Board is quite inadequate.

Sir, if the Bill is going to be passed on the basis of communal representation, then let all the communities be fairly and adequately represented in the Board and in the different committees.

Sir, in the Matriculation Committee as proposed in clause 26, no Scheduled Caste member has been proposed to be taken in.

In the Publication Committee as proposed in clause 25, no Scheduled Caste member has been proposed to be taken in. Sir, in the original Bill there was a provision in sub-clause (*1*)(*g*) that a Scheduled Caste member should be elected by the Board. But this sub-clause has been deleted by the Select Committee and thereby the representation of Scheduled Castes in this Committee has also been deleted.

Sir, in the original Bill in clause 4, sub-clause (*16*), only one Principal of *madrasah* was to be elected, but the Select Committee considered that both the old type *madrasahs* and the new type *madrasahs* should be represented and, therefore, in place of one Principal the Select Committee thought it proper to recommend two Principals. Sir, if the different types of *madrasahs* require to be represented on the Board to safeguard the interest of the different types of *madrasahs*, is it fair and equitable that the vast Scheduled Caste community which is well reputed for its backwardness in education and progress should not have better and adequate representation? I appeal to the Government and the Muslim friends not to neglect the Scheduled Castes of Bengal and give the necessary adequate representation on the Secondary Education Board and on different committees if they are determined to pass this Bill in its present form of communal basis.

Sir, with regard to other provisions of the Bill, I beg to submit that one of the dangerous provisions of the Bill is that every secondary school recognised by the Calcutta University for the purpose of

presenting candidates for the Matriculation Examination shall be recognised by the Executive Council for two years only from the date of the first meeting of the Board; but after the lapse of two years the recognition and approval of these secondary schools for presenting candidates for Matriculation Examination will be at the sweet will and discretion of the Executive Council of the Board. Sir, this provision is clearly dangerous and a fatal blow to the well-established existing secondary schools. A secondary school, however, well-established and well-managed or of whatever long standing it may be, shall have no guarantee of being recognised. Sir, the question of recognition and approval of a school should not be left at the mere discretion of the Board or the Executive Council of the Board but should be dependent on certain conditions being fulfilled by a school. Any secondary school which fulfils such conditions should have recognition and approval for purposes of presenting candidates for Matriculation Examination.

Sir, another most objectionable provision is that the syllabus for the Matriculation Examination of the Calcutta University should not be determined by the Calcutta University but by the Board. From this provision it follows that the Government not only wants to control secondary education, but also wants to control and determine the course of studies of the Calcutta University. This intention of controlling the course of studies in the University of Calcutta is clear from the fact that the Select Committee recommends that legislation amending the Calcutta University Act making it obligatory on the part of the——

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Mr. Speaker, is it not ludicrous that the Treasury Benches are empty and that group meetings are going on there? Sir, decorum ought to be the first thing.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. There has been too much giggling sound from the back benches.

Babu PREMHARI BARMA: ——University after December, 1945, without any further test to admit students who have passed the Board's final examination should be taken up by the Government without any further delay. Sir, such a policy if followed by the Government will certainly hamper real education in the province.

With these words, Sir, I support the motion for recommittal.

Mr. JOGESH CHANDRA GUPTA: Sir, I rise to support the motion of my honourable friend Babu Harendra Nath Rai Chaudhuri, but I have a little doubt as to whether this discussion is at all necessary

or beneficial in any way. Either the Treasury Benches and my friends on the Coalition Benches are already convinced of what we are urging before the House or they have decided altogether to ignore what we say. (A VOICE FROM THE COALITION BENCHES: We are convinced.) If they are convinced, I think the best course would be for the Leader of the House to stand up and say that the motion is accepted instead of wasting the time of the House. At any rate I am not going to reiterate the grounds that have been so ably put forward by the mover of the motion.

Sir, the Hon'ble the Education Minister in a statement well conceived said that the Government is prepared to keep an open mind. As a result of that the Opposition stretched their hand of co-operation and they met in a conference. The result has been that agreement has been reached on many points and I submit that a discussion across the table is much more helpful than speeches in this House ranged on two sides. I say that the agreement that has been reached on so many points lends the strongest argument in favour of recommittal, in favour of a discussion across the table to reach some sort of agreement on a vital measure like this. Sir, I venture to say that this House has never been called upon to shoulder a measure involving greater responsibility and which requires it to perform a solemn duty to the future generation of the Bengalees. I need only lay stress on the fact that it is agreed that a Board of Secondary Education is necessary to remove the confusion and weakness that exists in the present system of secondary education on account of dual control. I think a Board is also necessary for the purpose of improving the quality of instruction and to adopt the secondary education in this province to the environment and to the capacity of the children of Bengal and to the needs and requirements of this province. It is also necessary for providing facilities to level up the backward communities who on account of the want of facilities and on account of poverty mainly cannot give proper education to their children. Sir, under these circumstances I can understand a clamour for the purpose of securing a more liberal grant for helping the children of the backward communities to prosecute their studies and to improve themselves by getting education. I can understand that they would like reservation of stipends to help them. I can understand that they would insist upon allotting the best equipped teacher to sharpen the intellect of the children of the backward communities. I can understand their anxiety to share posts and jobs, because after all they may impair efficiency a little of those institutions, local bodies and others. But may I ask them to consider when they are clamouring for more seats, are they not ignoring altogether the real requirements of the education of their children?

That is the question which they must keep in view. I was listening to the discourse given by Babu Kshetra Nath Singha and I sympathise with the embarrassment that he was feeling. I can say to him that the addition to five seats in the Board or two seats in the Executive Council to the members of the Scheduled Castes will not help them in any way. What they need ask for is a guarantee from the Board of Secondary Education that proper facilities would be especially given for the children of the backward community. Similarly, our Muslim friends can also say to those who are better placed educationally "Do give us better facilities." Let us be levelled up and thus the Bengali nation will be strengthened and if that is resisted..... Sir, I think I heard a voice. If it is made audible, I can attempt to answer. As I was saying, Sir, if that is attempted, and if any section of the House denies that, they can then accuse them. But what is the good of clamouring for a number of seats? What is the good of foundering upon the claim for a number of seats? (A VOICE: What is the harm?) Let me tell you that the harm is this. I will give you a practical illustration. I know of an institution in which the Managing Committee is almost wholly Muslim. I know that that institution has been carrying on for some time with a Muslim Head Master. Naturally enough they wanted to place the institution under a Muslim Head Master. The result has been that they have not been able to get anybody who would stick to the job. They had appointed one who turned out to be not even a graduate and proved to be a convict and was again convicted for embezzling the school funds.

Now, Sir, there has been at the present moment a clamour from Muslim guardians, some of whom came up to me also and they said: "Make better arrangement in the institution. Have somebody who is experienced, no matter to what community he belongs and let him be appointed Head Master, or we withdraw our boys." Therefore, I say if you only want people because they are Muslims on a Board to lay down and discharge the heavy responsibilities of providing the best education suited to train up your children, to make them the future citizens of Bengal, you require the help of those who are experienced, those who have knowledge of the working of the educational system and you must entrust the matter in their hands. Nobody will challenge that in this matter the Speaker of the House who has made a study and made such contributions to arrive at a solution of the intricate problem of providing proper education ought to be on the Board. Nobody will challenge it, because he is a Muslim. First of all, you ought to judge a person's right to be on the Board by the claim he can put forward on academic considerations, his past experience, his past service. Please do not try to replace competent people who are available in Bengal to serve on the Board and help the cause of education merely on the ground of community. That is my appeal to you. If you do

that, you do an injustice to your own children, to your future generations, be they Hindus or be they Muslims. I ask you to consider that point. You can provide seats in the local bodies and in other bodies where the future of the Bengali race is not shaped and trained, but here do not play with this vital things. It is too serious a matter. Who among you would like that your boy should not be educated in the hands of a very competent Hindu teacher and must go when a competent Muslim teacher is not available to an inferior Muslim teacher? Are you doing justice to the children? After all, while you are providing for secondary education, you are making arrangements for the training of the children at the most impressionable age. What you require is that: you ought to claim, as I have already said, "Please allot to me the best equipped teacher to teach our boys and to help them to further studies." That I understand is a legitimate clamour. At any rate, I can only make this appeal to you. I again ask you to consider whether you should not sit across a table and decide these matters only keeping in view the efficiency of the system of the secondary education which is necessary to be introduced in this province in order to make education successful. The boys need be given a rural bias. There must be facilities for vocational education. Now who can think and provide for these best? Those only who have spent their lives on education, those who always think of education and not those who have been sent here. I do not say all but many of us possibly, at least the majority of members in this House have not devoted as much time on education and have not acquired as much qualifications in academic lines as other educationists have done. Do not try to replace them. Do not try on communal lines to just have a majority in the Executive Council.

In conclusion, Sir, I would appeal to the Hon'ble Minister in charge. He has a heavy responsibility in the matter. The children of Bengal, be they Hindus, be they Mussalmans, whether they belong to the Scheduled Caste community or any other, would look to his Government to usher in a Secondary Education Board which is competent to bring about an improvement in the present system of secondary education and in doing so he cannot afford to lose the services of any competent man on the ground that he does not belong to his community. I think, Sir, I ought not to say anything more, but again I fervently appeal to the members of the Coalition Benches to consider the matter very carefully before they turn down the proposal.

Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: I rise to support the motion for recommitting the Bill to the Select Committee.

It is a matter which most seriously affects the education of the youth of Bengal now and hereafter. The contemplated changes as

embodied in the Bill have exercised the minds of the whole nation—Hindus and Mussalmans—and have created a general feeling of the gravest alarm. Probably for the first time in the history of education in Bengal this Act has been set up to strengthen the powers and control of the Executive Government over the body corporate of the University in the matter of secondary education both in the external relations and internal constitution. Thus in the matter of secondary education even the bare semblance of control and authority of the University is now sought to be done away with. This Bill intends to snatch away from the University of all its power and control over the secondary schools. It is hard to make out what the University has done to deserve this treatment. On the other hand we feel that it has deserved richly the best help and support both of the Government and of the country. For that it has achieved singular success in fostering the growth of an efficient and beneficent system of education and that it has enforced in the secondary schools discipline, method and organisation—all that go to secure a high standard of efficiency. In the matter of selection of text-books they have brought to bear the varied knowledge, erudition and experience of a body of learned men and educationists, that in arriving at a conclusion on debatable questions they have invariably safeguarded their action by full discussion by opposing reason to reason and argument to argument, that the very nature of its corporate and truly representative character enables it to maintain a continuity of policy and a high standard of perfection, which I am sure will be quite impossible and hardly ever attainable under the administration of an ever-changing, official-ridden proposed Secondary Education Board. The wrong and injustice which the contemplated changes in the Bill will inflict on the community is so conspicuous. Who among us do not know that it was a number of Bengali gentlemen and not the Government of the country who as the real pioneers of English education in Bengal took up "the task eternal and the burden and the lesson" and that the old Hindu School and most of the similar educational institutions owed their existence solely to private munificence.

Mr. ABDUL WAHAB KHAN: What do you mean by Bengalis?

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order.

Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: I mean both Hindus and Mussalmans. Even in a small district like Hooghly out of the 52 high English schools 48 schools owe its establishment and maintenance to the public-spirited generosity of the local people. In fact my own family in its humble way is responsible for the establishment and running of 32 high English schools and it is needless to mention that

my family was not alone in the field and the schools those pioneers sowed broadcast produced a crop of men thirsting for knowledge and craving for culture.

Sir, we are now facing attacks from three sides. While the great world war is fast approaching to our doors, we, in Bengal, are also facing the economic attack in the shape of the Bengal Agricultural Income-tax Bill and intellectually by this Secondary Education Bill. The time is not at all opportune for such a measure. I must frankly admit that the Select Committee have been carried more by sentiments and emotions and have failed to realise and guage the real effects and the far-reaching consequences of the Bill. We expect the Select Committee to consider the Bill more calmly and dispassionately taking only into mind the real improvements of the educational system for our students as a whole.

We have every reasonable ground therefore for taking it upon ourselves to enter our emphatic and unqualified protest against the unwisdom and injustice which is sought to be perpetrated in this Bill. With these words I support the motion for the recommittal of the Bill to the Select Committee.

Mr. I. D. JALAN: Sir, I have much pleasure in supporting the amendment motion moved by my honourable friend Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri. No other measure has evoked so much criticisms in this province in recent times as the present measure we are discussing here to-day has. Attempts were made in order to bridge the gulf which existed between the Government and the Opposition in this matter. It was hoped when the Calcutta Municipal Bill was introduced, and the spirit of compromise manifested recently that at last we were coming to a stage in which we shall restore communal peace in this province and we shall be able to usher in a new era of peace and harmony. But it appears that Providence has thought otherwise and the Government backed by the majority party which is responsible for the Government of this province has thought fit to ride rough shod over the feelings of the minority community in this province,—that minority which is responsible for the power which the Government are enjoying to-day, that minority which sent hundreds of its sons to gallows in order to achieve independence and political power for the children of the soil Unfortunately for this country, unfortunately for all of us, it has been the desire of the rulers of this country that the country should remain divided and should not enjoy that amount of unity which is essential for the achievement of independence of this country. That is the reason why we have to stand up here and raise our voice of protest. We are quite sure that no amount of our protests can swerve the Government from following the path which it has chalked out for itself. We know the great volume of agitation which

has been going on in this province for the last few months inside and outside the Legislature. We know that in spite of several conferences that have been held we have been unable to arrive at an agreement and I am quite positive that no amount of our arguments in this House can alter the foregone conclusion with which the Ministry has ushered in this measure in this House. The party, the great national organization to which we have the honour to belong, I mean the Indian National Congress, in furtherance of its larger policy for achieving independence of this country has decided that the members owing allegiance to this body should withdraw from the Legislature, but it has permitted us to attend in order to enable us to raise and record our voice of protest, the strongest protest, that we are capable of, so that posterity may not accuse us of acquiescing in this measure, so that the future generations may not accuse us of not performing our duty at this crucial moment. I do not wish to deal in detail with the various provisions of this Bill because it has been very ably done at previous stages when the Bill was introduced and by my previous speakers and there is also not sufficient time for me to deal in detail with those questions. But I wish to say that the protest which we are going to raise against this Bill arises on account of our fundamental objections to it on account of its being an anti-national measure, a measure wholly communal in character and as to why we say so, I wish to say a few words.

Sir, the question of education is of paramount importance not only for the present generation but for all generations to come. The whole future prosperity or adversity of our country depends upon the kind of education that our children shall get. So far as we are concerned we have been brought up under a system which was under the influence of a foreign and bureaucratic Government, but now we are in a position in which a popular Government is having control over the destinies of this province. Unfortunately we find for ourselves that the Government which rules over us to-day is not a Government which has been chosen by the universal suffrage of the people; but it has been chosen by a community and members of other communities have got no voice, no influence, over them and the Ministry which has got control over our education owes allegiance to a body whose fundamental theory for the future of India is that Hindus and Muslims can never unite and the only solution of all the evils of this country is that Hindus should live separately and Muhammadans should live separately. Now, Sir, the persons who are in charge of education are bound to reflect their ideas and thoughts upon the people to whom they are imparting education. What we are afraid of is that the communal unity for which the Indian National Congress has been striving for the last 60 years of its existence is in jeopardy not for the present but for even the future generations to come. That is a fundamental principle

over which we cannot rest content without raising our strongest voice of protest. We know that you are in the majority and that you will be able to carry out your decisions, but we know that if you wish to carry out your decisions against the unanimous verdict of the minority community and in a problem which affects them so vitally, you are not performing a duty which destiny has entrusted to you. The same criticism will apply to your actions with greater force which is being applied to the bureaucratic regime that the bureaucracy, not being responsible to the people of the province, carries on its duties in a particular way against the wishes of the people. A similar charge can be levied against you that when God has given you power, you have also abused the power to a greater extent by ignoring the unanimous will and the unanimous criticisms and objections of the minority community.

Sir, I can do nothing else save and except this that I appeal to the Government to consider this question not from a narrow point of view but to consider this question from the point of view of how we are going to build up the future generations of this country. We are quite positive so far as we are concerned that there can be no peace in this country unless and until there is a Hindu-Muslim unity and the theories which have been preached by the party in power are absolutely contrary to this theory and if that theory is not brushed aside, I do not know in what time and at what stage we can ever achieve our goal. If two nations living in a country could bring about peace and harmony, there would have been peace and harmony in Europe, but we find that instead of peace and harmony even 25 years do not elapse within which there is not a war. Therefore, we on this side of the House are firmly convinced and we are absolutely positive about the fact that we can view the question of India from only one point of view and that is the absolute integrity of this country in which persons of all castes and creeds can have their legitimate aspirations, but we feel that the more we have talked about Hindu-Muslim unity, the more it has receded into the background until we have come to a stage in which there seems to be a parting of ways. In this situation, Sir, it is inconceivable for the Hindu community which exists in this province to view with equanimity, to view with calmness the cultural conquest of their soul by others. They know that so far as their politics is concerned, the powers that be have ordained that the spirit of the Hindus should be crushed in this province; but now they are starting upon a cultural conquest of the Hindu children and that is the reason why people strongly see that it is a measure which must be condemned, which must be resisted and which must be combated with all the power that the community possesses.

In conclusion, Sir, I can simply appeal to the majority party—not even to the Government, because Government is guided by the views

and decisions of its party. I shall ask them and appeal to them to consider this question from a broader point of view, from a point of view from which we can attain independence in this country which is the only *sine qua non* of all our evils. If after all these appeals and if after all these conferences and everything that we can do fail, then I have got nothing more to say but to pray to God that a time may come when the persons inhabiting this province should realise that these petty squabbles over which we are fighting so much will not pay and that we have got to achieve that amount of unity which will bring about a real era of peace and harmony.

Sir, I have deliberately indulged in general remarks, because I know that we are working under a sense of unreality. The Hon'ble Minister of Education does not consider it necessary to listen to any of our speeches and rightly so, because so far as he is concerned, he considers that it is simply waste of time for the members of this House to talk about this measure which will be passed, which must be passed and which can be passed in one sitting, in one hour without much difficulty. I also feel in the same way. I also feel that at present what we are doing is nothing but exercising our lungs in this House. We are trying our best in order to show what oratory we possess and nothing beyond that. We are really working under a sense of unreality and the earlier this House is dissolved and the affairs of this province are left to the present Government to do whatever they like until a time comes when a revolution takes place, the better for the country.

Sir, that is all that I have got to say and I want to appeal once more to the Government to consider it though it may be that my appeal will go in vain. At least our protest must be recorded for all future generations to come to show that we have tried our best and we have failed.

Srijut ASHUTOSH MULLICK : Sir, বর্ত্তমান মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিলের কর্ত্তা, কর্ম্ম, উদ্দেশ্য, বিধেয়, বিশেষ্য, বিশেষণ পদ পরিচয় করিলে দেখা যাবে—ইহার নিপাতনে সিদ্ধিলাভ। অর্থাৎ ইহা আগম, নিগম, অগ্র, পশ্চাৎ, উন্নতি, অবনতি কিছুরই যেন ধার ধারে না। বিলটীর প্রয়োজনীয়তা, নিষ্প্রয়োজনীয়তা, ত্রুটী, বিচ্যুতি বিষয়ে যথেষ্ট আলোচনা হয়েছে, যতোনা আলোচনা হয়েছে, তার চেয়ে ঢের বেশী হয়েছে গবেষণা। এই রকম গবেষণা না হ'লে কি এহেন বিল গড়ে উঠে। সাম্প্রদায়িকতা ষোল আনা বজায় থাক্‌বে, সরকারের নিয়ন্ত্রণও সগৌরবে অক্ষুণ্ণ থাকবে, আর তারই আওতায় কিনা শিক্ষারূপ মহান মহীরুহকে অভ্র ভেদ করিতে হ'বে। নিঃসন্দেহে উহা বাংলার Secondary Education নামক বিলে—কচুরি পানা আগাছা সমস্যায় পরিণত হইবে। যাহার সমাধানের জন্য ভবিষ্যতে মন্ত্রীমহাশয়কে হয়ত অনেক বেগ পাইতে হ'বে। বলা বাহুল্য যে, দুই হাতে কখনও জাতীয় শিক্ষা গড়ে তোলা যায় না—অবশ্য তালি বাজে। সাম্প্রদায়িকতা ও শিক্ষা একত্রে খিচুড়ি পাকান উচিত নয়। অবশ্য প্রধান মন্ত্রীমহাশয়ের বাংলার দরিদ্র জনসাধারণকে ডাল ভাত দেওয়ার প্রতিশ্রুতিই আছে কিন্তু, কই খিচুড়িরত কোন বরাদ্দ

নাই। তারপর এই বিষয়ে বক্তৃতা হ'য়েছে যথেষ্ট, সারগর্ভ বক্তৃতা হয়ে গিয়েছে, যত বেশী বক্তৃতা হয়েছে আমাদের এই পরিষদ গৃহে, তার চেয়ে ঢের বেশী বক্তৃতা হয়েছে বাইরে, পার্কে, পার্কে, নানান সভা সমিতি প্রভৃতিতে, দিনের পর দিন, সপ্তাহের পর সপ্তাহ, মাসের পর মাস। অবিরাম অবিশ্রাম তীব্র আন্দোলন চলছে। নূতন করে বলবার মত বিশেষ কিছু নাই। আবীর, বক্তৃতা করবার যোগ্যতা অল্প বিস্তর সকলেরই আছে বলে সকলেই মনে করে, কিন্তু, বক্তৃতা শোনার ধৈর্য্য আছে কয়জনের? বক্তৃতা করার চাইতে বক্তৃতা শোনা কঠিন।

Sir, আমি এই প্রসঙ্গে মাত্র দু-একটি ধর্ত্তব্য কথা বলে আমার বক্তব্য, মন্তব্য, কর্ত্তব্য সব শেষ কোরব। "বড় দাদা তাঁর বড় ছেলের শ্রাদ্ধে নেমন্তন্ন করে নাই, ছোট ভাই তারও বড় ছেলে আছে বলে, বড় দাদাকে শাসায়—বলে দেখে নেবো"—এই প্রকার মনোবৃত্তি সম্পন্ন কোয়ালিসনী বন্ধুদের চিত্তবৃত্তি পরিবর্ত্তনের জন্য বক্তৃতার পুনরাবৃত্তি কেবল "তুষাবঘাতেন শ্রমৈবহি কেবলম্"। মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষার সংস্কার অত্যাবশ্যক কিন্তু তাই বলে তার ধ্বনিতে মুগ্ধ হয়ে আমরা যে শুধু তার সাহায্যে সঙ্কীর্ণ সাম্প্রদায়িকতা প্রবেশ করাইয়া শিক্ষা সংস্কারের ফাঁকা আওয়াজ কোরব সেটা ঠিক নয়। প্রায় বৎসরাধিক এই আন্দোলনের তীব্র আলোচনা, গবেষণা হচ্ছে, কিন্তু বাংলার সচিব সঙ্ঘের শক্তি-স্তম্ভ সদস্যগণ তাহাতে কর্ণপাত করেন না। যাদের প্রাণের চাইতে কান বড়—সঙ্গীত চর্চ্চায় লোভ তারা নাকি কিছুতেই সম্বরণ করতে পারে না এবং সে ব্যাপার থেকে তাঁদের নিরস্ত করবার ক্ষমতাও আমাদের বা কারো নাই। প্রতিবাদ করায় বিশেষ কোন ফল নাই জেনেও আমরা প্রতিবাদ করি, কারণ, আজকালকার মতে আপত্তি নিশ্চিত অগ্রাহ্য হবে জেনেও এবং আপত্তি খণ্ডন না হ'লেও আপত্তিকর জিনিষটাই সম্পূর্ণ গ্রাহ্য করে নেওয়াটাই বুদ্ধিমানের কার্য্য বলে বিবেচিত হয়। আমাদের বর্ত্তমান সমাজ ও শিক্ষা দুইই আমাদের ব্যক্তিত্বের বিরোধী। সমাজের যা মন্ত্র—তারি সাধনপদ্ধতির নাম শিক্ষা, তাই শিক্ষায় বিধি হচ্ছে "অপরের মত হও", আর নিষেধ হচ্ছে "নিজের মত হয়ো না"—শিক্ষা বিষয়ক এই Primary Educationএর গলদ আছে বলেই বর্ত্তমান Secondary Education বিলের বর্ত্তমান গোলযোগ যথা—Muslim Education Committee, Hindu Education Committee, Schedule Caste Education Committee প্রভৃতির নিয়োগ। কাজেই ছল বল কৌশল প্রয়োগ, সঙ্গে সঙ্গে নানাপ্রকার অভিযোগ—ফলে, ঘোড়া ডিঙ্গাইয়া ঘাস খাওয়ার অপরাধে Secondary Educationএর অবশ্যম্ভাবী প্রাণ বিয়োগ। আমার মনে হয় এই পরিষদের বৈঠকের প্রথমে Primary Education Bill এবং তারপর Secondary Education Billএর আবির্ভাব হলে হয়ত এই কাল বৈশাখী ঝড়ের গুরুত্ব কিঞ্চিৎ পরিমাণে লঘুতা প্রাপ্ত হইত কি না, কে জানে! সম্প্রদায় নির্বিশেষে যাঁহারা শিক্ষায় অগ্রসর, শুধু তাঁহাদেরই শিক্ষা সংস্কার বিষয়ে অগ্রণী হওয়া দরকার। আর যাঁরা অনগ্রসর, তাঁদের শিক্ষা করা দরকার। হিন্দু ও মুসলমান যদি সাম্প্রদায়িকতা বিসর্জ্জন দিয়ে পরস্পর পরস্পরের কৃষ্টি ও সংস্কৃতির প্রতি আকৃষ্ট হয়, তবেই শিক্ষা সংস্কারের স্বার্থকতা লাভ হবে। কিন্তু, এই শিক্ষা বিলের হৃৎযন্ত্রে যে শ্বাস বহিতেছে তার ধ্বনি পবিত্র নহে—বিচিত্র। সে শ্বাস সুস্থ বা স্বাভাবিক নহে—তাহা ব্রহ্ম-শ্বাস নহে,

নাভি-শ্বাস। এই নিরাশার অন্ধকারের মধ্যেও আমরা একটু ক্ষীণ প্রদীপ শিখা জ্বালাইবার চেষ্টা করিয়াছিলাম। বর্ত্তমানের পরাভব লাঞ্ছনার মধ্যেও অতীতের এখনও পরিদৃশ্যমান গৌরবগিরিকে অক্ষুণ্ণ রাখিবার চেষ্টা করিয়াছিলাম, কিন্তু, আত্মভ্রষ্ট বলে আমাদের বন্ধুগণ তার কিছুমাত্র উপলব্ধি করিতে পারিলেন না। আপোষ মীমাংসার চেষ্টা হইল, আপোষী দল, বিরোধীদল, উপদল, অপদল সম্মিলিত হইল, কিন্তু মিলন সম্ভব হইল না। প্রস্তাবনায় প্রধান মন্ত্রী মহাশয় মীমাংসার ভূমিকা করিলেন এবং যদি বা স্থান বিশেষে অঘটন সংঘটন সম্ভব হইল, কিন্তু, যবনিকা পতনের সময় দেখা গেল—বিয়োগান্ত নাট্যাভিনয়। আপোষ, বিরোধে পরিণত হইল; "যথা পূর্ব্বং তথা পরং"। আমরা অবিশ্বাসের আত্মঘাত হইতে পরস্পরকে রক্ষা করিতে পারিলাম না। বর্ত্তমান বিলে সৃষ্টির পরিবর্ত্তে অনাসৃষ্টি, জীবনের পরিবর্ত্তে মৃত্যু, ত্যাগের পরিবর্ত্তে অভিনব আত্মার আত্ম-প্রতিষ্ঠা। এই মনোবৃত্তিই যেন তাহাকে পাইয়া বসিয়াছে—জাতির শিক্ষা কলুষিত করিয়াছে। সেখানেও কেবল আত্ম-প্রাধান্যের কূটনীতি এবং তাহারই সাধনায় কুবিধি ও কু-অভিসন্ধি এবং তৎসঙ্গে বর্ত্তমান প্রাদেশিক স্বায়ত্তশাসন সাম্প্রদায়িক নীতির নিদারুণ দুর্য্যোগের অভাবনীয় অমানসিক সুযোগ। ফলে ইস্‌লাম বিপন্ন হইল না বটে, কিন্তু, শিক্ষা বিপন্ন। আবার এই মনোভাব লইয়াই শিক্ষা সংস্কারের দাবী; এবং সে দাবীও যখন গ্রাহ্য হইতেছে তখন এদেশ আর বাঁচিবে কয় দিন? অন্ততঃ বিনাশের আশঙ্কায় দিশাহারা এবং নিত্য নৈমিত্তিক বিপদে মুহ্যমান। এই মনোভাব লইয়া বর্ত্তমান শিক্ষা বিলের সাম্প্রদায়িক দোষে দুষ্ট বিষয়গুলির দ্বারা বাংলার জনসাধারণের উপকার করিবার ইচ্ছা, এক কথায় নাদির শাহের উপচিকীর্ষা। কিন্তু, তাই বলে কেহ দিল্লীর নাদির শাহকে তীর্তিষাপরায়ণ নদীয়ার নিমাই বলে ভুল করে না কিম্বা নদীয়ার নিমাইকে নাদির শাহ বলে ভুল করে না। কুৎসিৎ দুরারোগ্য ব্যাধির বিষাক্ত বীজাণুর জন্য রায় হরেন্দ্র নাথ চৌধুরীর নির্দ্দেশ মত, ডাঃ শ্যামাপ্রসাদ মুখোপাধ্যায়, কিম্বা ডাঃ নলীনাক্ষ সান্যালের ব্যবস্থাপত্রানুযায়ী সুচিকিৎসার দ্বারা সমূলে বিনষ্ট সাধন না করিয়া, কেবল ক্ষতে প্রলেপ প্রদানে ব্যাধি মুক্তি সম্ভব হইবে না। এবং সময় থাকিতে নিদান বুঝিয়া প্রতিবিধানের চেষ্টা না করিলে নিদানকালে ডাঃ বিধান চন্দ্রকেও বিধির বিধান স্বীকার করিয়া লইতে হইবে।

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Let us now adjourn for the recess.

Mr. SPEAKER: The only speaker remaining in the list from this side is Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu. How long will you take, Mr. Basu?

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: I do not think I shall exceed 15 minutes.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Better let us have recess now.

Mr. SPEAKER: All right. After the recess Mr. Basu will speak and after that I shall come to the other side.

(At this stage the House was adjourned for 20 minutes.)

(*After adjournment.*)

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: Mr. Speaker, Sir, if I rise to accord my support to the motion for recommittal of this Bill to the Select Committee which has been placed before this House by my esteemed and honourable friend Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri with such ability and eloquence, I do not do so in the hope that in the Select Committee as at present constituted any far-reaching changes may be effected in the body of the Bill. But my main purpose in standing up to-day, in support of this motion is to give expression to my deep sense of disappointment and deeper sense of regret at the turn of events we have been witnessing to-night.

Sir, it was only last week that sentiments were expressed on the floor of this House not only by the Leader of the House and the Leader of the Opposition but by the Speaker himself who entertained genuine and sincere hope that the efforts which had begun under such auspices to bring about a reconciliation between conflicting views and thoughts on this Bill might lead to a successful fruition. If there was any measure upon which agreement between all sections of the House was essentially needed, it is this measure, the Bengal Secondary Education Bill. Within recent times probably there was no other measure placed before the Legislature which had convulsed public feeling to such an extent as this measure has done in the province of Bengal. The Hindus of this province whom I have the honour to represent in this House, and I am not ashamed to declare that even from these benches, the Hindus of this province have come to entertain genuine apprehensions that their culture, their tradition, their religion and their system of education were in jeopardy. A genuine feeling of anxiety and alarm has been aroused by this measure and it has found deep and widespread expression not only in largely attended meetings and conferences in the metropolis of the province but even in distant towns and hamlets.

It was in this setting and against such a background that the Bill was introduced in this House. The Hindu community of this province felt firmly convinced that if this measure became the law of the land, their children, their children's children, their future generations, would be deprived of the wherewithal which had so long gone to make up the Hindu community, and all that it stands for, all that it feels for, all that it strives for. It was for that reason, Sir, that public opinion, so far as the Hindu community was concerned, had been convulsed from end to end of this province by reason of this measure. It was, therefore, with a great sense of relief that we learned that the Chief Minister had held out the olive branch, and we on this side of the House accepted it with outstretched hands. The Chief Minister appointed an expert committee for the purpose of examining

the provisions of the Bill and subsequently an enlarged committee with an extended personnel was appointed consisting of the leaders and some members of this House for the purpose of examining and scrutinising clause by clause all the contentious elements which have crept into this measure. Sir, it is admitted on all hands that this committee had done excellent work; and the spirit displayed by the members representing the different sections of the House was such that it emboldened the Leader of the House and the Leader of the Opposition only last week to expect great things from this committee. It was for that reason that this House adjourned the consideration of this Bill last week, so that it might come before this House in a form which would be found acceptable to all sections of this House. But, alas, all our hopes have been dashed to the ground.

I do not know what has been responsible for bringing about a situation of this character. I was not one of those who were members of this committee, but so far as we were concerned, we welcomed the idea of this committee, we gave our blessings to it, we extended our sympathies to it and we co-operated with it in the sense that when our counsels were sought for by the members of the committee, in great hope, in great earnestness we associated with them in order that their labours might be brought to a successful fruition. But, Sir, yesterday, we were told that the efforts of the committee had failed and that there had been no agreement in the matter.

I would again request the Hon'ble the Chief Minister to contemplate the situation towards which he and his party are gradually drifting. It may be that when this measure becomes the law of the land, those who are sponsors of this measure may be half a dozen or a dozen firebrands in this House—who are anxious to put this Bill on the Statute Book by hook or crook, by whatever method or manner— those who are anxious to thrust this measure down the throat of the Hindu community, will probably feel elated that their great mission has been fulfilled and that they have succeeded in their task. But that is not the end of the story. Have those who are so very anxious to get this measure passed into law contemplated what may be the result in the province so far as the Hindu community is concerned if the Bill is passed in this fashion, in the teeth of opposition, unanimous and united opposition of the Hindu community?

Sir, I do not want to introduce matters into this debate which might ruffle the atmosphere to a greater degree than has already been done. It is common knowledge that one of the reasons which have been put forward on behalf of the Muslim League in connection with the Dacca riots was that the Hindu agitation in connection with the Secondary Education Bill and the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill was in some way responsible for those unfortunate events which have taken place in the district of Dacca. Taking this allegation at its

face value, even if it were conceded that it is true, is it desired, is it intended by those responsible for this measure that a situation should be brought about in this province which may once again lead to such a catastrophe? I am not uttering a word of threat, but I consider it my plain duty, belonging as I do to the great Hindu community and having had the honour of representing a Hindu constituency, to sound a note of warning—not a word of threat. I shall fail in my duty if I do not utilise this opportunity of uttering that word of warning to the Chief Minister of this province and those who are standing by him in respect of this measure.

Sir, we thought that we are in the midst of a war. We thought that to-day is the second anniversary of the outbreak of that war. The Chief Minister has sent out his clarion call so that all the efforts of the province might be concentrated for the purpose of winning the war. In his recent broadcast speech he has cautioned the people of this province to be on their guard against air-raids and such other calamities. Is this the time, I ask, when he should launch upon a most controversial measure of this character which would convulse the province from end to end and would shake Hindu public opinion to its very foundation? I want you to realise what they are doing in other places where they are suffering from the devastation caused by the war or guarding against devastation threatened by the war. Sir, I am not taking my stand upon this ground alone. But I am pointing out the utterly inconsistent position that the Chief Minister is taking in this matter. He is in one breath asking this province to stand united so that all controversies might be hushed into silence, and in the same breath he is putting forward measures of a highly controversial character which will cut this province in twain. I submit, Sir, this position is utterly incomprehensible, this position is utterly inconsistent.

We oppose this measure because it is a communal measure, every inch of it, every clause of it, every sentence of it. We say to communalists and to communalism "hands off, you have no business to trespass into the sacred ground of education. Try your hands elsewhere. In the sphere of education we shall not brook it, we shall not stand it, we shall not tolerate it, so long as any power lies in our hands."

Mr. Speaker, I have spoken in this strain to-day not with a desire to utter a threat or a warning. I am still entertaining a hope in my heart of hearts that all is not lost yet. If this measure goes back to the Select Committee the Government led by the Chief Minister who had given such an excellent lead in this matter so far as negotiations are concerned might once again think that it is time to cry halt, it is time to explore further avenues of reconciliation, if there be any. He might withdraw this measure and once again search for a formula

which might point the way to peace and harmony between the two communities in this province. This motion for recommittal is to be welcomed from that point of view that it might give the Government a breathing time, that it might give the Government opportunities for cool thinking. Away from the dust and turmoil of political controversies either in Bombay or in Calcutta, this educational measure might be looked at and approached from a purely academic point of view unhampered by the rushing and stampeding tactics of those who are out to slaughter education in this province. Sir, if we can tide over the present difficult times, difficult not only from our point of view but from the point of view of those who have sponsored this measure, and can contemplate this measure and its provisions in a cool and peaceful atmosphere, undeterred, as I have said, by long range shots aimed from afar at the Coalition Party or its Leader, well, Sir, it will be a great day for Bengal, it will be a great day for those who inhabit Bengal, irrespective of their creed or community.

Mr. SATYA PRIYA BANERJI: Mr. Speaker, I rise to accord my whole-hearted support to the motion of recommittal which has been with, so much ability, moved by my esteemed colleague Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri, one who has made a special study of the subject and as such whose opinion deserves the most careful consideration by the House. Of all the measures that have been brought before this House I have no hesitation in saying that the Secondary Education Bill is the most iniquitous. If I may recall the words of my leader Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose in a letter addressed to the big conference held in last December at Hazra Park, it mortgages the future of the province.

I will not, Sir, dilate on the different clauses of the Bill, because I was not prepared to speak this evening. I will only speak about the general principles underlying the Bill. Secondary education, Sir, forms a very important link in the chain of national system of education. It stands for three things, a stage, a type and a standard. As a stage it stands midway between primary and University education. As a type I would not hesitate to say that the secondary education worth the name ought to belong to the type which is called humanism, I mean the type of liberal education and as a standard it ought to aim at that measure of erudition so as to enable the students passing through it to be fitted to be students of a University.

Judged by all these tests, the Secondary Education Bill falls far short of the mark. As a type it is not in the least humanistic nor liberal. It is tinged by what is called communalism. If in the sacred precincts of education communalism is given entrance, I am sure death-knell will be sounded of education. As a type it, therefore, does not rise to the mark; as a standard I do not say anything, because it is

known to everybody present here that the secondary education which is conceived by this Bill does not speak of any standard, and as regards the stage, I have said already.

Secondary education, Sir, has grave defects, we all agree, but the way in which the defects have been sought to be remedied in this Bill will pave the way for greater mischief and the remedy, I am afraid, will be worse than the disease. Officialism, communalism and restriction in place of development of secondary education, among others, have been the main features of the Bill. Official control is the one thing that is desired by Government and communal control is the other thing that is desired by Government. And last but not the least one of the main objects which perhaps inspired the sponsor of the Bill and the Minister in charge, is to curtail the influence of the Calcutta University. Read the provisions of the Bill and read between the lines and you will find that the under-current that flows throughout the Bill is to curtail the importance and influence of the Calcutta University, the University which is our *alma mater* and whose products we all claim to be and feel proud of becoming.

Sir, the Bill has a history—a history which ought to be an object lesson to the present Ministry. When the Bill was introduced, we of the Opposition refused to sit as members in the Select Committee, because we could not agree to the principles underlying the Bill. The Bill went to the Select Committee and came out of it. In between there was a huge representative protest conference at Hazra Park in Calcutta, meetings after meetings were held in district towns and villages in which resolutions exposing the real nature of the Bill were passed. You all know that no such agitation has ever convulsed this province as this measure has done, but even then the Hon'ble Minister in charge, just before the session began, announced in a communiqué that he did not know the nature and content of opposition to this Bill, and he therefore appointed a committee of experts to enquire into them. After that, there seemed to dawn wisdom in the mind of the Hon'ble the Chief Minister and he appointed a rather enlarged committee consisting of members of the Opposition to sit with the Committee of experts. They sat in an atmosphere of good will and trust and we were all very hopeful, that an agreed formula acceptable to all would evolve out of these friendly discussions, but after all it ended in smoke and the result has been that the Bill has come before us in the same form in which it emerged from the Select Committee and the motion that is before us is a motion for recommittal on grounds which have been so ably and so eloquently expressed by my honourable friend Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri and which I need not recapitulate here.

Sir, we are living in stirring times, times that try men's souls. Is this the time, is this the occasion when such a measure which has evoked so much controversy, so much opposition throughout the length

and breadth of the province, should be hustled through in this House? I do not for a moment deny that secondary education deserves improvement. But this is not the way, nor this is the time. This is the time when we should all consider how we can unitedly think and act and stand. This is not the time when our attention should be diverted, this not the time when we should be frittering away our energies, this is not the time when we should be quarrelling amongst ourselves. United we stand and divided we fall.

With these few words, Sir, I support the motion of Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri. (Applause from the Congress Benches.)

Mr. SPEAKER: That finishes the whole list given to me by this side (pointing to the left). I now call upon Mr. Birat Chandra Mandal.

Mr. BIRAT CHANDRA MANDAL: (Rising amidst cheers from all sections of the House) Mr. Speaker, Sir, before I enter upon a discussion of this Bill, I want to speak something about the political and social condition of India prevailing at present and in the past.

Mr. SPEAKER: Is it under the inspiration of Dr. Mookerjee? (Laughter.)

Mr. BIRAT CHANDRA MANDAL: Oh! yes. He is my colleague here and he was my colleague in the college. So, I cannot but support him.

You know, Sir, that India was under the absolute rule of the ancient people, the original settlers of India, I mean the Scheduled Castes (laughter) and after that you know, Sir, the history says that the Aryans or the Caste Hindus came to India from Central Asia and the result was that the culture of the Scheduled Castes was destroyed by the Aryans or the Caste Hindus after they had been defeated. (Laughter.) Then, Sir, you remember that the Hindus reigned over India for a long time for, say, 4,000 years or more than that. Then the Muhammadans came; they did not destroy the culture of the Hindus. (Cries of "Hear, hear" from the Coalition Benches.) They reigned over India for about 700 years. (Mr. M. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: What about the Buddhists?) You know, Sir, that the first Muhammadan ruler was Kutubuddin and Kutubuddin was a slave. In the history it is found that Kutubuddin was a depressed class man. He embraced Islam and he was made the first Emperor of India. (Cries of "Hear, hear" from the Coalition Benches.) (Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SAW: Why not Birat Mandal?) (Laughter.) You may follow suit. Like Kutubuddin you may have a chance now. Then, Sir, after 700 years of reign by the Muhammadans the British people came and

wrested political power in India from the Muhammadans. Naturally there was quarrel between the Englishmen and the Muhammadans and naturally the English people hated the Muhammadans and the Muhammadans hated the English people and naturally the English people began to love the Caste Hindus. (Laughter.) What followed was that the Caste Hindus began to learn more of politics and more of British culture and traditions and thereby the Caste Hindus became great favourites of the Englishmen, they became the disciples of the Englishmen; and the Muhammadans gradually became backward culturally and as regards the Scheduled Castes they had long long been defeated and their culture was altogether destroyed. This is the present position. Thus we find that the Caste Hindus are very very forward in point of education and then come the Muhammadans and the Scheduled Castes.

Mr. SPEAKER: And then comes the Secondary Education Bill! (Laughter.) Please come to the Bill.

Mr. BIRAT CHANDRA MANDAL: Yes, Sir, I am now coming to that. If we go through the educational statistics, what do we find? We find that in Bengal the Baidyas are 65 per cent. literate, Brahmins 64 per cent., Kayasthas 63 per cent., Subarna Baniks 44 per cent., Sahas 33 per ent. and so on. The Namasudras and other Scheduled Castes are only 8 per cent. literate and the Muhammadans are also 8 per cent. literate. This shows that the Muhammadans and the Scheduled Castes are sailing in the same boat so far as literacy is concerned. Then, Sir, we find that there are a large number of educated Muhammadans in Bengal and a very small number of educated Scheduled Castes. Why so? It is because their numerical strength is greater than ours. The Muhammadans are about 3 crores and we are about 1 crore. Therefore, we find that so many Muhammadans are educated and such a small number of Scheduled Castes are educated. (A VOICE FROM THE CONGRESS BENCHES: Have you got one-third representation?) I want to know from the Hon'ble Chief Minister on what basis he puts the representation of various communities. We know that the English people are cent. per cent. literate. The Caste Hindus are semi-literate and the Muhammadans and Scheduled Castes are illiterate. If representations were to be based on the principle of literacy, then all the representations should go to Englishmen. If it is not based on literacy and if it is based on population, then we should get one-fifth of the total representation, because the Scheduled Castes form one-fifth of the total population of Bengal. We should get one-fifth, but I see we are getting only one-tenth. Only five seats have been allotted to the Scheduled Castes. A serious injustice has been done to Scheduled Castes and I appeal to you——

Mr. SPEAKER: I have not done any injustice.

Mr. BIRAT CHANDRA MANDAL: Sir, I appeal through you to the Hon'ble Chief Minister to make proper amendments in the Bill so that the Scheduled Castes might get one-fifth of the total number of seats. I also appeal to the Leader of the Opposition, because he holds a very high position in the country and he is very much educated. We can tell him "unless you educate us, don't think that you will be a gainer. Ultimately you are sure to lose the game, if we lag behind educationally. You Caste Hindus are only 25 lakhs in Bengal. Brahmins, Baidyas and Kayasthas are only 25 lakhs out of a total population of 5 crores. Suppose in the whole body, you are only the brain. Your hand is inactive, your leg is inactive and your stomach is inflated. You cannot do anything. You have to educate us. Unless you try to educate the Scheduled Castes and the Muhammadans, your case is sure to be lost". So, I say, Sir, that an adequate number of seats must be given to the Scheduled Castes. Your big boss, I mean the big boss of the Congress, has expressed a desire to Mr. Jinnah. I had an interview with Mr. Jinnah and he told me that the big boss was not willing to do anything for us. He has professed to do so much for the Scheduled Castes. But as a matter of fact he has privately said to Mr. Jinnah that he is not going to concede anything to the Scheduled Castes. Rather he is willing to give everything to the Mussalmans but not anything to the Scheduled Castes. So, I say to the gentlemen sitting on my right "Don't follow your big boss. You follow your commonsense". I appeal to the Leader of the Opposition through you not to follow the big boss. Let him act according to his conscience and try to uplift the Scheduled Castes. If they forget the cause of the Scheduled Castes, they will forget their own cause soon. Let them be conscious that they are very few in number. They cannot do justice to Bengal. Bengal does not mean a handful of Caste Hindus only. Bengal means Caste Hindus. Bengal means Muslims. Bengal means Scheduled Castes. Bengal means also Anglo-Indians and even Domiciled Europeans. Let them not forget all these things. (A VOICE: What have you got?) I am coming to tell you that. Wait a few minutes.

Mr. SPEAKER: I hope you will give him a lesson not here but outside the House. (Laughter.)

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: We have had some lessons in history from the honourable member. We have also had some lessons in navigation, that is, how to sail in the same boat. May we have some lessons in geography now? (Laughter.)

Mr. BIRAT CHANDRA MANDAL: Sir, some of my friends have described the Bill as communal, but I say that it is not communal in the least. It is quite the reverse. In former days we have seen that there was the Calcutta University Bill. Now it has become an Act. What is the representation there? We must look at the constitution of the Calcutta University and then compare it with the constitution which we are going to frame to-day for the Board of Secondary Education. What do we find there? How many Caste Hindus are there? Out of 100 Fellows in the Senate we know the Hindus have got 75. Only one seat has been given to the Scheduled Castes.

Srijut NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Who has given that?

Mr. BIRAT CHANDRA MANDAL: The Government nominated only one Fellow from the Scheduled Castes. Then, we find that there are only 25 Muhammadans. There we find 75 Hindus and 25 Muhammadans. We might describe this Bill as reactionary if we found that there were 75 Muhammadans and only 25 Hindus. As a matter of fact, this is not reactionary. This is a compromise—compromise in the sense that the Muhammadans instead of taking 75 per cent. representation are taking only 50 per cent. You have 75 per cent. in the Calcutta University. Here they are taking only 50 per cent. Therefore the Bill is neither communal nor reactionary.

Then, Sir, the next point is this. They call the Calcutta University as national and this one as anti-national and communal. But I say that the Calcutta University——(laughter).

Mr. SPEAKER: I think Mr. Mandal should give up his speech now as he is coughing so much in speaking about the Calcutta University (laughter).

Mr. BIRAT CHANDRA MANDAL: I know, Sir, we have a Muhammadan Vice-Chancellor. I appeal to you, Sir, to let me have a few minutes and I shall make the point clear. If we take the administrative side of the Calcutta University, what do we find?

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. I think you are now going beyond the scope of the Bill.

Please confine yourself to the Bill.

Mr. BIRAT CHANDRA MANDAL: Sir, I shall come to the point. I want to say that this Bill is not communal and that it is not reactionary. It is absolutely a compromise between the two extremes.

Regarding the Government control, there are many elected seats and even the Scheduled Castes will get some opportunity, but in the

Calcutta University the Scheduled Castes have got no opportunity. Only one man has been given nomination. This shows that this Bill is more democratic, that this Bill will afford greater and better facilities for democracy to all concerned.

With these words I support the Bill. I support the principles of the Bill but regarding the Scheduled Castes my appeal to the Chief Minister is that the number of seats should be increased.

Khan Bahadur Maulvi JALALUDDIN AHMAD: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am grateful to you for the opportunity that you have given me for speaking a word or two on the motion that has been sponsored by Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri. We have heard a really very interesting and forceful speech, which is quite usual with Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu, a powerful Advocate of the High Court, in supporting the motion of Mr. Rai Chaudhuri and in opposing the Secondary Education Bill. He has not only advanced arguments, but he has appealed to sentiments saying that this is not an opportune time in which this Bill should be pushed through, that is, in view of the present international situation it should not be proceeded with. One of his most potent arguments was that the sentiments of the whole Hindu community have been convulsed and agitated over this measure from the beginning of its introduction and it should not be pushed through. If really that is to be the test for shelving a measure in this Legislature, then no measure could be advanced if a certain section of the people creates an agitation against a measure which is brought up by any Government. There may be in existence an agitation, consistent and persistent, throughout the country which may be real or unreal. It is not usual for the Legislature or for anybody to see the soundness or unsoundness of that agitation, whether that is *bonâ fide* or not, whether there is real grievance against the measure or not. We will go by the principle as to whether a measure casts any reflection on or hampers the free culture of the communities that are affected by it.

Sir, my previous speaker Mr. Mandal has given a very beautiful, entertaining and humorous speech, but he has said one important thing that in educational sphere there communal aspect of different cultures cannot be ignored.

Sir, when the Secondary Education Bill was first referred to the Select Committee, the members of the Opposition, for whom I have the greatest regard, refused to take any part only on the ground that it was a retrograde measure. If we proceeded with the Bill we could make improvements, but in order to meet the wishes of the Opposition the Bill has been postponed from time to time and this session also we have wasted much of our time for coming to an agreement with the Opposition. So, the fact remains that so far as this Bill is concerned, the Minister in charge of Education has gone a very great way in

order to meet the wishes of the Opposition and in trying to come to terms with them, so that they may help in the advancement of the legislation. A conference was held and we found from the speeches of the Leader of the Opposition and the Leader of the House that there was agreement on many points. I do not know why it has failed. After that does it lie with the Opposition, specially my esteemed friend Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu, to say and to hold out a threat—he has not minced his words—that the Hindu world will not remain content and will not allow it to be passed. I am very sorry that a man like Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu in the second instalment also should hold out a threat like this. My respectful submission through the Speaker to the Opposition is that the very fact that the Opposition wants to stifle this Bill through threat is a great incentive to this party to push it through. Sentiments should not play any part in this matter specially when we have tried our best and when the other side, at least the Leader of the Opposition Mr. Bose, tried in his own way to come to terms.

Now, an objection has been advanced by my friend Mr. Satya Priya Banerjee that there was too much official control and too much communalism here also and therefore the Bill should be dropped. There has been no constructive criticism that a particular section or a particular clause is derogatory to the real expansion of education.

Sir, I do not understand why they try to ignore about communalism if it means interest of a community. It is a fact that there are three important communities here in Bengal. As my friend Mr. Birat Chandra Mandal has said that there is the culture of the Muhammadans, there is the culture of the Hindus and there is the culture of the Europeans. These three cultures have got certainly to be looked into while framing our educational scheme. The educational system which has so long been in existence under the British rule has been led by one section of the people only under the aegis of the British. This sort of culture, the culture which is now in existence in the University is one-sided. I should say and it cannot be denied that Muhammadans could not get opportunity of advancing their point of view. In my old days I could not read any Bengali book full of mythology of Hindus and the stories of Rama and Sita and Ramayana and Mahabharata, but I did not know where I could find the name of Abu Bakar. (Mr. Atul Krishna Ghose: Why did you not write books?) For this, Sir, I do not blame one section or the other. I do not say that anybody is responsible for it. I do not like to say anything like that, but I say this that Muhammadans did not get opportunities and it is a fact that in the early days of education Government spent Rs. 60 per month per Hindu boy while the Muhammadan boys did not get anything.

Sir, the Opposition call the Ministry a communal Ministry. But is a Ministry which placates the Opposition, which tries to concede much more to the Opposition than to its own party a communal Ministry? This Ministry is afraid of being called partial. In the words of Lord Minto, this Ministry is a veritable coward. It is trying by all its means to concede to the Opposition but still it could not satisfy them.

Now, the demand has been made that the Ministry should give up this Bill. This is like the threat of Hitler to other European countries that if they accept his racial superiority, there will be peace, otherwise there will be war. If this be the attitude of the Oppesition it is very difficult for the Coalition Party or for anybody else to come to terms with them.

Sir, with regard to the composition of the Board, can anybody deny that humanity, personality and individuality play their parts? Even the judgment of the Public Service Commission is not always right. I do not speak of any particular Public Service Commission. (Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: What about nomination?) In nomination also the same holds good. Can you invent any system where you do not find the question of personal likes and dislikes? Even in the sphere of justice I have seen that the question of likes and dislikes comes in.

Then you cannot altogether abolish the personal factor. You say that the composition of the Board should be such that it will be an independent body. We have heard arguments after arguments that it should be an autonomous body. How can there be two autonomous bodies? The Provincial Government is an autonomous body, and how can there be another autonomous body within it? There must be some official control, and that control must rest on somebody. If the Provincial Government is responsible for imparting a good type of education and has got to pay for it, then the Government should really have the power of final control. My friend Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri has tabled an 11-clause amendment to the Secondary Education Bill and has suggested that the Bill should be revised, that the Board should be an autonomous body, and that Government should have nothing to do with its control. But he has not given any suggestion how this could be possible. What sort of autonomous body will it be which will not be responsible to one person or other?—as to that Mr. Rai Chadhuri has not said anything. So, if at all my friends are anxious that the Bill is necessary, then why not proceed with it? On major points there has been an agreement, and on very minor points there may be differences, but there will be an opportunity for suggesting amendments and making improvements later on. We are

prepared to concede to the Opposition wishes to any length without sacrificing the principle. I do not say that we shall carry this Bill through the House by sheer majority, nor is it the intention of the Hon'ble Chief Minister. If that was the intention of the Chief Minister, he would not have postponed it from time to time. The feeling of this House is this: that the Chief Minister or his Cabinet is now showing weakness resulting in bitterness. Members of the Coalition Party are getting disappointed and they are thinking that it is not really the intention of the Government to push this Bill through in this session. They charge the Government with weakness whereas the Opposition says that Government want to pass this Bill by sheer majority. (Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: Thank you for the disclosure.) I do not care for any disclosure. Politics is based upon diplomacy. The more a man can circumvent or quibble, the more he can succeed, but here the time is bad for such diplomacy. Diplomacy has brought about nemesis in the world. That has brought about the present world war. We have heard about successful British diplomacy, but as a result of this diplomacy, this war has broken out. The other day the English people did not like the Russians, but now they are allies. So that sort of diplomacy does not pay for us, a subject nation. The other side of the House is as much anxious for the education of the children of the province as we are. We only want that in this educational scheme all persons should combine and try to improve the Bill. The power was so long in the hands of the Calcutta University and nobody will deny that the Calcutta University has done much for the education of this country. (Cries of "hear", "hear", from the Congress Benches.) I myself am a product of that University. Those who are thinking of improvement, they are also all products of the Calcutta University. There is no denying that there has been improvement in teaching, but the question of all questions is whether you have really given encouragement to other cultures also to come in. I am glad that at present after such a long time we have got a scheme for the improvement of secondary education. I am thankful to both the Vice-Chancellor and ex-Vice-Chancellor that Islamic studies have at last been introduced in Calcutta University. But, there is genuine grievance that the Muslims have suffered under the present control of the University. In the executive council there are no doubt officials, but we cannot avoid officials. Some officials we must have. In the Select Committee Mr. Wordsworth was there and he is not a staunch supporter of Muslims. (Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: But he always votes with you.) As for myself, I was a student of his at one time, and I know that as an educationist he has got his own views. He does not support the Muslim point of view. He has given his reasons in the Select Committee. You can bring in amendments and improve the provisions of the Bill by all means. So I appeal to my friends, Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu and

to Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, the Leader of the Opposition, who is a very great personality, to try to improve the Bill on convincing grounds and not to delay it, so that the Bill may not be passed through in this session. It would be really regrettable if we could not pass this Bill during this session. It will cast a reflection on both parties, if we could not agree to a small Education Bill, when we aspire to frame an agreed constitution for our country.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 7-36 p.m., till 4-45 p.m., on Thursday, the 4th September, 1941, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Thursday, the 4th September, 1941, at 4-45 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Sir MUHAMMAD AZIZUL HAQUE, C.I.E., Khan Bahadur) in the Chair, 9 Hon'ble Ministers and 203 members.

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

Assistants in higher grade of service under High Court.

*104. **Mr. ABDUR RASCHID MAHMOOD:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Judicial Department be pleased to lay on the Table a statement showing separately the present number of—

(1) Hindu and

(2) Muslim

assistants in the higher grade of service under the Hon'ble High Court, both Original and Appellate Sides?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) the number of vacancies that occurred in the higher grade since 1st April, 1937, up to February, 1941; and

(*ii*) the number of such vacancies filled by Muslim candidates?

(*c*) Is it a fact that the number of Muslims is inadequate in the higher grade?

(*d*) If the answer to (*c*) is in the affirmative, what steps the Government propose taking for the increase of the number of Muslims in the said grade?

MINISTER in charge of the JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Nawab Musharruff Hossain, Khan Bahadur): (*a*) The following particulars are supplied by the courtesy of the Hon'ble the Chief Justice:—

	Original Side.	Appellat Side.
(1) Hindu	14	38
(2) Muslim	2	3
(*b*) (*i*)	1	16
(*ii*)	Nil	1
(*c*) Number of Muslims in the higher grade	2	3

(*d*) Under section 241 read with section 242(4) of the Government of India Act appointments to the Court's establishment rest with the Hon'ble the Chief Justice. The Hon'ble the Chief Justice has by his order, dated 22nd June, 1940, fixed the communal sequence in respect of recruitments of the lower division assistants in the High Court as follows:—

2 Muslims.

1 Hindu.

2 Muslims.

1 Hindu.

1 Minority Community.

Realisation and disbursement of education cess in Chittagong.

***105. Dr. SANAULLAH:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department be pleased to lay on the Table a statement showing year by year since the levying of the education cess in the district of Chittagong—

(*a*) the total amount realised from education cess; and

(*b*) the different heads on which the said amount was spent?

MINISTER in charge of the EDUCATION DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq): (*a*) Rs. 89,210 during 1939-40 and Rs. 2,26,320 during 1940-41.

(*b*) (*i*) Pay of teachers in School Board managed primary schools.

(*ii*) Stipends to teachers of aided primary schools.

(*iii*) Grants-in-aid to primary sections attached to secondary schools and madrasahs and to girls' primary schools.

Translators in Appellate Side of High Court.

*106. **Mr. ABDUR RASCHID MAHMOOD:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Judicial Department be pleased to state—

(*i*) the present number of Translators in the Hon'ble High Court, Appellate Side;

(*ii*) the number of them that are—

(1) Muslims,

(2) Caste Hindus,

(3) Scheduled Castes, and

(4) others;

(*iii*) the number of them that have been appointed since 1st April, 1937; and

(*iv*) the number of them that are Muslims?

(*b*) If no Muslims have been appointed since 1st April, 1937, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reasons therefor?

The Hon'ble Nawab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN, Khan Bahadur: By the courtesy of the High Court the following information is available:—

(*a*) (*i*) 8 (including one post reserved for Urdu and Persian knowing person which is vacant at present).

(*ii*) (1) Nil.

(2) 7.

(3) Nil.

(4) Nil.

(*iii*) 1.

(*iv*) Nil.

(*b*) Appointments to the posts of Translators are made on the result of the qualifying tests held from time to time, for which applications are ordinarily invited from the Court's staff irrespective of their caste, and creed.

Mr. ABDUL WAHAB KHAN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the Communal Ratio Rules apply to these appointments?

The Hon'ble Nawab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN, Khan Bahadur: They do not apply to High Court appointments under orders of this Government, but so far as the High Court is concerned they have actually accepted the principle of reserving appointments for Mussalmans though not in the proportion of 50—50.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the principle enunciated by him several years ago as regards the High Court, *i.e.*, autonomy within autonomy still holds good?

The Hon'ble Nawab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN, Khan Bahadur: It is there.

Grants at the disposal of Inspectress of Schools, Presidency and Dacca Circles.

***107. Khan Bahadur Maulvi FAZLUL QUADIR:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department be pleased to state whether any grants, both recurring and non-recurring, placed at the disposal of the Inspectress of Schools, Dacca and Presidency Circles, for the year 1939-40 have lapsed?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to lay on the Table a statement showing the savings, separately, for each circle, with the reasons thereof?

(*c*) Had there been any demands for grants from the Muslim community for establishment of high English and middle English schools for Muslim girls?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: (*a*) Yes.

(*b*) A statement furnishing the information is laid on the Table.

(*c*) The Inspectress of Schools, Presidency and Burdwan Divisions, reports that no application for grants for the establishments of high English schools for Muslim girls was received during 1939-40, but that one school was given an additional grant to enable it to raise its status to that of a middle English school and that 4 more schools were given lump grants for the maintenance of middle English classes added to the primary sections during 1939-40.

The Inspectress of Schools, Dacca Circle, reports that there was no demand from any quarter for the establishment of high English or

middle English schools exclusively for Muslim girls but there were some applications for grant-in-aid to Muslim controlled girls' schools and that most of them were given grants as far as the existing grant-in-aid rules permitted.

Statement referred to in reply to clause (b) of starred question No. 107.

INSPECTRESS OF SCHOOLS, PRESIDENCY AND BURDWAN DIVISIONS.

Savings from—

(*i*) Secondary grants—Rs.4,000.

Reason.—Represents grants of Brahmo Girls' High English Schools, Calcutta, for 4 months not passed by the Accountant-General, Bengal, pending consideration of certain audit objections.

(*ii*) Primary grants—Rs.8.

Reason.—Proportionate cut on grant-in-aid bills.

INSPECTRESS OF SCHOOLS, DACCA CIRCLE.

(*i*) Secondary grants—Rs.15,459-7.

Reasons.—The saving is accounted for as follows:—

(*a*) Proportionate deduction from grant-in-aid bills—Rs.11,699-7.

(*b*) Failure of schools to draw grants within 31st March, 1940—Rs.2,112.

(*c*) Failure of schools to satisfy grant-in-aid conditions and to draw grants—Rs.1,648.

(*ii*) Primary grants—Rs.810.

Reason.—Proportionate deduction on grant-in-aid bills.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: With reference to answer (*c*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what he exactly means by Muslim controlled girls' schools?

Mr. SPEAKER: Girls' schools, managing committees of which are Muslim.

Khan Bahadur Maulvi FAZLUL QUADIR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he is aware of the fact that an application from the Secretary, Gulzar Begum Middle English School, Chandanpura, Chittagong, was addressed to the Inspectress of Schools, Dacca Circle, to raise it to the status of a high school?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: I remember that an application was forwarded to the Inspectress of Schools, Dacca Circle, whose report is being awaited. As soon as the report comes, steps will be taken to raise it to the status of a high English school.

Khan Bahadur Maulvi FAZLUL QUADIR: As regards the failure of schools to draw grants within the 31st March, 1940, to the extent of Rs. 2,112, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the Bill was passed at the end of the month or whether it is owing to the fault of the school authorities the amount lapsed?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: I have no information as regards these details, but I can assure the honourable member that so far as the financial position is concerned we have been doing our best to help these institutions. As a matter of fact these institutions are more generously treated than schools for boys.

Khan Bahadur Maulvi FAZLUL QUADIR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the Bill was passed at the end of March?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: I don't know.

Filling up of lower grade posts in the High Court, Appellate Side.

***108. Mr. ABDUR RASCHID MAHMOOD:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Judicial Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact—

(*i*) that some posts of lower grade assistants reserved for Muslims have fallen vacant in the High Court, Appellate Side; and

(*ii*) that all those posts have temporarily been filled up by Hindu candidates?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps, if any, he is proposing to take for filling up those vacancies by suitable Muslim candidates without delay?

The Hon'ble Nawab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN, Khan Bahadur: (*a*) Yes.

(*b*) It has been ascertained by courtesy of the Hon'ble the Chief Justice that non-Muslim candidates who had to be appointed temporarily in Muslim vacancies will be displaced by Muslim candidates when the latter are nominated by the Public Service Commission.

Taking over certain primary schools in the Free Scheme of Mymensingh District School Board.

*109. **Mr. MONOMOHAN DAS:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department be pleased to state—

(*i*) whether it is a fact that the Primary Schools of Khayrathaty, Chatal, Bhadia, Baraikachuri in Kishoreganj subdivision, and Balnia and Baira in Netrakona subdivision, Mymensingh, have been running for a long time;

(*ii*) that all the schools are located in the areas predominated by the backward Scheduled Castes people; and

(*iii*) that the Mymensingh District School Board contemplate to start some additional schools under the Free Scheme from the current year?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) (*iii*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) the number of such additional schools; and

(*ii*) whether all schools referred to in (*a*) (*i*) will fall under the above scheme?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: (*a*) (*i*) They have been reported to be running for some time past, though they do not fulfil all the requisite conditions.

(*ii*) Yes.

(*iii*) The matter is under consideration.

(*b*) (*i*) The number of additional schools required at present is reported to be 100.

(*ii*) Of the six schools named, the one at Bahadia is already included in the Free Scheme. The cases of the other schools will be considered by the District School Board when additional money is available.

Mr. MONMOHAN DAS: With reference to the latter part of the answer (*b*)(*ii*), *viz.*, the cases of the other schools will be considered by the District School Board when additional money is available, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to give us an idea of the time when money will be available?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Money will be available when the financial stringency is over.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how is this that all the running schools in the Scheduled Caste area were excluded by the District School Board of Mymensingh excepting the one which has since been included in the Free Scheme and not the others although the students belong to the Scheduled Castes?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: It is the business of the District School Board to decide as to which school should go under the Free Scheme. Government have no control over the decision of the District School Boards.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the Government will make an enquiry into the matter and tell the House the result of that enquiry?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: I do not quite understand what useful purpose would be served by an enquiry, because the District School Board is an autonomous body, and being autonomous it is not bound by the result of enquiry. But if any specific case of gross injustice is brought to our notice, we may by way of courtesy request them to redress any legitimate grievance.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the District School Board is autonomous of the Bengal Government or of the Cabinet?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the Government of Bengal has got some control over the District School Board or they have got none?

Mr. SPEAKER: You can see the Act.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: On a point of order, Sir. Are we not entitled to have the facts elicited about the working of autonomous bodies?

Mr. SPEAKER: If it is within their discretion, then you cannot, but if it is within the purview of Government to look into the affairs of the local bodies, then certainly you can ask questions. Once you allow such questions to be raised on the floor of this House in relation to autonomous bodies, it would seriously affect the affairs of such bodies. Take for instance, the Calcutta University which had been constituted under a statutory provision. If the Calcutta University affairs are brought within the purview of this Legislature, I think the University affairs might be brought to a standstill. Similar is the position with the other local self-governing institutions. These local bodies ought to reserve their autonomy without being subjected to any criticism by this House unless, of course, there is any gross abuse of power.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: On a point of order, Sir. If a questioner does not question their activities but simply tries to elicit facts about their actions, is that to be shut out?

Mr. SPEAKER: But if questions are asked as to why a thing has been done, that certainly cannot be allowed.

Process-fees realised and paid to process-servers as pay.

***110. Mr. BIRAT CHANDRA MONDAL:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Judicial Department be pleased to state separately for the last three years—

(*a*) the amounts realised as process-fees in the Civil Courts of Bengal; and

(*b*) the amounts spent exclusively on pay of the process-servers?

The Hon'ble Nawab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN, Khan Bahadur: A statement is laid on the Table.

Statement referred to in reply to starred question No. 110.

	1938.	1939.	1940.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
(*a*)	22,25,787	18,80,129	18,95,059
(*b*)	8,79,898	8,51,149	8,18,632

Formation of committees for proper management of Wakf Estates.

***111. Maulvi MD. ABDUL HAKIM VIKRAMPURI:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department be pleased to state—

(*i*) the number of—

(1) the public wakfs, and

(2) the Wakfs al-al-aulad at present existing in the Province of Bengal; and

(*ii*) the number of each kind of such wakfs that have been brought under the control of the Wakf Department?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the Inspectors or the Auditors of Wakfs have recommended the formation of a committee for the management of the Wakf Estates of Bengal?

(*c*) If the answer to (*b*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how many committees have been formed up till now on such recommendations?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: (*a*) The total number of wakfs existing in Bengal would include the wakfs of which the Commissioner has received no information and hence it is not possible to supply the exact figure.

The number of wakfs enrolled—

Public	...	6,299
Al-al-aulad	...	1,702
Total	...	8,001

(*b*) Recommendations made by Inspectors and Auditors sometimes include suggestion for formation of committees for the management of Wakf Estates.

(*c*) 67.

Rise in price of clothes.

***113. Mr. A. M. A. ZAMAN:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Commerce and Labour Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the Government issued a communique on the 12th August, 1941, to the effect that steps would be taken to control the price of *sarees* and *dhotis* in the Province?

(*b*) Is the Hon'ble Minister aware—

(*i*) that the price of *sarees* and *dhotis* has been increasing day by day even after the 12th August; and

(*ii*) that the wholesale dealers in *sarees* and *dhotis* have stocked their godowns with a large quantity of such clothes?

(*c*) If the answer to (*b*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) what steps the Government are proposing to take for the release of the *sarees* and *dhotis* stocked by the wholesale dealers; and

(*ii*) fixing the maximum price of *dhotis* and *sarees* without delay?

MINISTER in charge of the COMMERCE and LABOUR DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy): (*a*) Yes, a Press Communique was issued on the 12th August, 1941, in which it was stated *inter alia* that this Government was in communication with the Government of India regarding the desirability of controlling prices of piece-goods on an all-India basis and that Government were determined to put down profiteering.

(*b*) (*i*) No, as far as I am aware, the upward tendency of the prices was checked by our communique.

(*ii*) The Pujah season is approaching and it is possible that the wholesale dealers are increasing their stocks to meet the Pujah demand. I am informed that the retail dealers are not purchasing goods as freely as before as they are apprehensive of an order controlling prices, and this too has presumably tended to increase the stocks in the hands of the wholesalers.

(*c*) (*i*) The complaints that wholesalers are reluctant to release their stocks have ceased and I do not consider that any action will be necessary on the part of Government.

(*ii*) The honourable member is referred to my reply to part (*c*) of unstarred question No. 75 of this session.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the Government has considered the desirability of reducing the price which had already been abnormally high before the Government communiqué was issued?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: The price has been reduced after the issue of the communiqué.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Does the Hon'ble Minister want us to understand that prices have been reduced after the communiqué

was issued, or is it his answer that the upward tendency was checked by the communiqué? Is it really the Hon'ble Minister's case that prices have been reduced after the issue of the communiqué?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: They have been definitely reduced.

Mr. SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY: Will the Hon'ble Minister accept our statement if we say that prices, far from being reduced, is rising by leaps and bounds day in and day out?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: I am afraid I cannot accept that statement, for I find that the prices have gone down. I cannot check the prices day in and day out.

Mr. SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY: Will the Hon'ble Minister consider the desirability of going to some shops and see things for himself?

(No answer.)

Mr. ABDUL WAHAB KHAN: With reference to the communication with the Government of India regarding the controlling of prices on an all-India basis, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether there is any likelihood of controlling the same within a very short time before the Pujas?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: That rests really with the Government of India. I am informed that the Government of India have been taking stock of the situation throughout India. It cannot be done only by looking at one particular market. They have got to consider the cost price: how much margin they should leave in the hands of the mill-owners: how much in the hands of the traders: and the price should not be put down to such a level that it may damage industry and business. All these have to be considered by the Government of India, but I have impressed upon the Government of India as forcibly as possible the desirability of controlling the prices at an early date.

Mr. SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to tell us the minimum price of a standard *saree* now being sold in Calcutta?

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not think that he is expected to know the prices of *sarees*. (Laughter.)

Transfers of sheristadars and nazirs.

*114. **Mr. SERAJUL ISLAM:** With reference to the reply given to starred question No. 166 of the 16th August, 1940, will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Judicial Department be pleased to state—

(a) the names of the District Judges' sheristadars and nazirs who have now completed 5 years at the same station in the same post; and

(b) whether the Government contemplate rescinding the previous standing order for such periodical compulsory inter-district transfer?

The Hon'ble Nawab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN, Khan Bahadur: (a) By the courtesy of the High Court I am able to furnish the following names:—

Sheristadars.

Tippera—Babu Charu Chandra Banerji.

Hooghly—Babu Surendra Mohan Roy Chowdhury.

Rajshahi—Babu Bharat Chandra Ray.

Mymensingh—Maulvi Sharfuddin Ahmed.

Bankura—Babu Debendra Chandra Ganguly.

Khulna—Maulvi Md. Khorshed Ali.

Nazirs.

Tippera—Babu Benoy Krishna Kumar.

Pabna—Babu Hem Chandra Chakravarty.

Burdwan—Maulvi Syed Umed Ali.

24-Parganas—Babu Anath Bandhu Gonai.

Rajshahi—Babu Devendra Narayan Chowdhury.

Dinajpur—Babu Rakhal Chandra De.

(b) The rule for compulsory inter-district transfer of District Judge's sheristadar and nazir after five years' service at district headquarters was rescinded with effect from the 19th April, 1939. The officers become liable for transfer if the High Court considers it desirable.

Placing before Assembly the conditions for notification of Banks under Bengal Money-lenders Act, 1940.

*116. **Mr. SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Judicial Department be pleased to state when do the Government propose to place before the Assembly for approval of the conditions for notification of Banks as contemplated under section 3 of the Bengal Money-lenders Act, 1940?

The Hon'ble Nawab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN, Khan Bahadur: The rules have been drafted and every endeavour is being made to place the same before the Assembly as early as possible provided they meet with the approval of the parties in the Assembly.

Mr. SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is in the contemplation of the Government to take the approval of the parties concerned before it is placed before the House?

The Hon'ble Nawab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN, Khan Bahadur: Yes, I am consulting the party first and if they would promise to support me in this House, then it will be placed before the House, otherwise if I find that my party is going to throw it out, I have no justification for placing it before you and suffering defeat.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA KUMAR: Does the Hon'ble Minister consider it desirable to place the draft Bill to those members of the Select Committee before it is placed in the open House?

The Hon'ble Nawab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN, Khan Bahadur: No Select Committee is in existence any longer.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: Do I understand the Hon'ble Minister to say that he will consult his party only when he refers to "parties" in his answer?

The Hon'ble Nawab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN, Khan Bahadur: If I am satisfied that my party is going to support me, then I may think of consulting other parties.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: Is it in the contemplation of the Hon'ble Minister to consult only those parties which will support him?

The Hon'ble Nawab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN, Khan Bahadur: Before I may bring a measure before the Legislature I must be sure that there is support from the persons who are actually with me.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the rules were drafted a few months ago but the Government did not consider it worth while to place it before any party so long?

The Hon'ble Nawab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN, Khan Bahadur: Rather, as soon as the rules were framed I sent a copy of those rules to every member of the Coalition Party for expression of opinion. But none has come forward yet to give a written opinion on it.

Mr. SPEAKER: I am afraid I must give a little indication that it is not parliamentary to divulge in the House what a Minister does in one party or another. That is a matter which ought to be done in the party and a Minister must remember that it will create a very dangerous precedent if it is divulged in the House. He should not forget that a Minister's suffrage in the House is not of a particular party but of the House. I believe the proper function of the Minister is to consult his party and not to divulge it before the House. But if he wants to divulge it in the House, then every section of the House has a right to know what he is going to do.

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: The Hon'ble Minister is only speaking the truth!

UNSTARRED QUESTION.

(answer to whicih was laid on the table)

Contractors under the Executive Engineers of Northern and Eastern Circles.

80. Maulvi AZHAR ALI: Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Communications and Works Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) the present number of enlisted contractors under the Executive Engineers of Northern and Eastern Circles;

(*b*) the number of them that are from—

(1) Hindus,
(2) Muslims,
(3) Scheduled Castes, and
(4) others; and

(*c*) the amount of works allotted to the contractors of each community from April, 1939, to March, 1941?

MINISTER in charge of the COMMUNICATIONS and WORKS DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Maharaja Srischandra Nandy, of Cossimbazar): A statement furnishing the information asked for is laid on the Table.

Statement referred to in reply to unstarred question No 80.

Name of divisions.	Hindu contractors.			Muslim contractors.			Scheduled Caste contractors.			Contractors of other communities.		
	Present No.	Amount of works allotted.		Present No.	Amount of works allotted.		Present No.	Amount of works allotted.		Present No.	Amount of works allotted.	
		1939-40.	1940-41.		1939-40.	1940-41.		1939-40.	1940-41.		1939-40.	1940-41.
Northern Circle.		Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.
Darjeeling ..	36	1,84,943	1,37,353	2	4,932	6,694	Nil	..	..	10	2,25,523	2,02,967
Jalpaiguri ..	57	3,05,918	3,35,030	19	17,040	15,551	Nil	..	..	1	931	3,020
Rajshahi ..	36	1,12,745	1,51,724	26	47,012	76,693	Nil	..	..	1	..	..
Total ..	129	6,03,606	6,24,107	47	68,984	98,938	Nil	..	..	12	2,26,454	2,05,987
Eastern Circle.												
Dacca ..	42	4,70,509	4,50,934	26	1,29,179	2,38,392	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bakarganj ..	64	6,65,975	8,74,127	51	40,065	46,900	5	12,442	9,009	..	..	..
Chittagong ..	43	3,30,700	2,47,868	32	3,54,718	2,10,407	2	1,640	1,109	..	..	..
Mymensingh Construction.	14	..	6,54,755	2	..	87,764	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total ..	163	14,67,184	22,27,684	111	5,23,962	5,83,463	7	14,082	10,118	..	..	..

Adjournment Motion.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Mr. Speaker, Sir, on behalf of our party a notice was given by Mr. Narendra Narayan Chakravarty——

Mr. SPEAKER: In view of the fact that there is a certain difficulty in giving my consent, instead of rejecting it straightaway, I have asked Mr. Chakravarty to see me in my chamber after the sitting of the Assembly. On certain points I want to be clear and instead of following the previous procedure of straightaway rejecting it, I have asked him to see me.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Mr. Chakravarty has already told me about this, but there is one thing to which I want to draw your attention. We have already lost several non-official days and we should expect you to see that this adjournment motion is not set down for hearing and discussion on a non-official day.

Mr. SPEAKER: I will see to it.

GOVERNMENT BILL.

The Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1940.

Mr. W. C. WORDSWORTH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have been let out of custody for an hour to come here and speak and I am at the disadvantage of not knowing in detail everything that has happened in the last day or two. Further, I have been instructed not to use my brain for a few days longer which might tell more hardly upon the House than on myself, and if I speak more indifferently than it is my wont it is not that I have not any faith in any action—I have still my hopes —but because fever is a depressing companion.

Sir, in the hundreds and thousands of definitions scattered over the literatures of the world we find nothing that helps us in such a situation as we have been living through, but in the history of many countries we come across the same combination of circumstances. In many countries men have hated one another for the love of God and for love of little children and in trying to settle what should be good for little children they have gone to extremes of ideals.

This Bill, as I suppose, mingles more with our dreams and our nightmares than any measure we can remember for many years. I have been told of strong men who awoke from sleep with shrieks of anger

because they have dreamt that the other side had won the battle for the board or the attack on the Executive Council. We have got through a time in which reality has been to some extent hidden, obscure and defeated by our passions and yet at the end we are left to common sense and simplicities of arithmetic and whatever trust we can have in one another.

Sir, I and my group deeply regret the withdrawal of the Opposition from the Select Committee and from all interest in the Bill for a while. We do not know how much we have gained in compensation, but we do know that the Opposition with its knowledge of education, its experience, its interest in the work, could have helped very much to make this Bill a better Bill in Select Committee. We have, I believe, come to a happy change. I saw the first sign of this when I read in the paper that a prominent member of this House in Assam has made a speech calling upon everyone to drop political differences and rally round Government and give the province the best possible University Bill. That shows what a good thing it is to take a holiday sometimes and we are glad to find that the feelings inspired by the Bills of a neighbouring province have not welted away in the plains of our own. This Group's view, my Group's view, has been before you for some time. It is simple and straightforward. We are ready to support this Bill as put forward by the Government, because we think that there is a good deal of good in it. We are prepared to support any other Bill if we are satisfied that there is any good in it. We are prepared to support any agreed measure, and we hope to find an agreed measure, and to give our full efforts towards making things better. We should like to see as much as possible achieved by agreement; especially it is distressing when decisions are taken only by the *force majeure* of party majority. We think that secondary education of all kinds, of Hindus, Muslims, Europeans, education of boys, education of girls is on a much poorer level than what it ought to be—I mean on a much poorer level than what it was 20 years ago. The teachers have helped them in their mystification and it is time that we should try to see new inspiring and invigorating ideas within the province. We believe that it is right that in education as in all other important matters Government should be the legislating authority and we are prepared to support Government in all its efforts. We know the predominant part played in this House, the predominant part taken by the Coalition Party in controlling our legislation. That, under the system in which we work, is inevitable. We remember the old lady who told Dr. Johnson after thinking it over that she accepted the "Universe". We similarly accept the Coalition Party as the dominant party and we realise, however much some in the House may have regretted that it is the Coalition Party that must set the nature of our legislation.

The special interests in the Bill of the European Party are not many or extensive. The chief is the European Board—the Board for European education which was established as part of the constitution under which we live and work as a statutory position in our province. But it is not what many have said it is; some in this House have said that it is. Outside I am sure there has been a certain amount of deliberate misrepresentation. The attitude has been that the Europeans have their Board. Why should they have anything else? Above all they can have anything they want. May I with all courtesy make it clear that the European Board is only an Advisory Board, an Advisory Board for Eupopean schools which are very largely Indian as well and an Advisory Minister who is an Indian Minister, and the inclusion of a reference to it in this Bill is not anything but a reminder of the status of the Board that existed already. Theoretically, once that is recognised, the European community might do without any further representatives, but as practical men we must admit that theory is not everything and that it will be not only convenient but even necessary if we have on the Board and some of the committees one or two members who are there on the spot to answer the questions, give advice and in all ways serve the European community in relation to the Board. For European education has its special points of view, its peculiarities you may say and they are not likely to be looked to if there is no member present at the discussions. Many who are interested in European education have for years worked for educational approach between the two systems Indian and European in this province and progress is becoming pronounced.

I would like here to say a few words of tribute to Dr. Jenkins for the very hard work that he has done. He has gone through immense haste to put together in form that handy easily read Bill and estimated a great deal of material that otherwise existed in raw and intractable form.

Last of all, I come to the boy and the teacher. I do this because it is our way. We generally come last of all to the worker. I am afraid that students have in the last few months learnt that their parents have been angrily quarrelling—not a good thing for children to learn. What then can we do to help the children? If we leave the children alone, they will be quite happy, but we must do something for them. We must do something to help the teacher because we have a great deal to do. We must see to it that he gets such help, such guidance, such stimulus for doing fine and steady work. Out of their natural interest in learning they may have the best possible result. They go on gently, uncomplaining year after year. Our teachers are badly treated, poorly paid; they are held to be of little account by many. A few kind words on the prize day and they will forget for the rest of the year and often—I would ask your attention especially to

this—often teachers are put to the humiliation and crime of signing receipts for pay in excess of what they receive. Thus they are made by their Managing Committees to join in fraudulent acts. I say that out of long knowledge; yet no one objects. There has never been any enquiry, never any report or complaint. And if they complain they are likely to lose their small posts. We have had a lot of literature on this Bill and I do not doubt that most of it is genuine. But I should like to say that I have received a few letters, not many, two or three, from men who told me that they had taken part in demonstrations against the Bill. They had no choice. They were made to do it and if they had not done so life would have been made unpleasant for them, but they hoped that the Bill would go on and that Government would carry it through, because it seemed to them at the moment the only hope for the teachers. (Cries of "Hear, hear" from the Coalition Benches.)

There is a little more that I want to say. As I have said before, boys are happy when we leave them alone. They get on well together. Boys of different kinds have often rejoiced and shouted together in their early years and I don't think anybody has discovered yet why they shout at each other when they are grown up.

There are many aspects of education which we have not yet touched. There is one aspect which calls for attention soon—the strain on the boy not only from his school work but also from other additions to the lengthy work owing to the difficulties of communications in Bengal. Dr. Sanyal usefully drew the attention of the Assembly to it the other day by a question. I hope that as soon as the Board is established this will be among the first things to be investigated and I hope, as I have said elsewhere, that one of the first things the Board will do will be to set up a small but competent psychological institute which will examine the very important aspects of education which do not come under the ordinary attention of teachers. Let us then as representatives of the people do the best we can here to make this Bill as good as possible, then by the exercise of franchise set up as good a Board as possible and then trust to God and allow it to set to work in its own way. Then three or four years hence it may be found that much of what we have disturbed ourselves about was not necessary and it may be found also that the time has come for a supplementary amending Bill to give force to the experience of the Board in its first few years. I think its experience will be considerable and varied. We cannot expect, we ought not to expect, that there will be finality in what we are doing here this week. This is a beginning but it may be a very good beginning if all rally together and put the very best of their thought and the very best of their experience behind it. So, Sir, these are the two categories of people who, generation after generation, deserve so well of the province—the school children and the teachers.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, I rise to support the motion for recommittal of the Bill so ably moved by our esteemed colleague Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri day before yesterday. Ever since the provisions of the present measure were brought to light and particularly since this Bill was introduced in the Assembly in August, 1940, this measure has been greeted with a chorus of condemnation in the Press and on the platform and it has been subjected to a scathing criticism both inside this House and outside. The Bill has been characterised as "the most mischievous from the national standpoint", "designed definitely to set back the clock of progress," and "sure to lead to the undoing of all the ceaseless efforts of generations of Bengal's patriots and educationists for the uplift of this province".

The justification for bringing forward a Secondary Education Bill in the present form and at a time when the entire civilisation is shaking has been questioned by public men and educationists held in the highest esteem and the utter hollowness of the arguments contained in the Statement of Objects and Reasons has been thoroughly exposed.

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, who was touched profoundly by the danger which menaces the cultural existence of his province, in a message sent from his sick bed to the conference organised to protest against this measure, appealed to his countrymen to preserve from harm Bengal's great inheritance of culture which he apprehended this Bill threatened. Acharya Profulla Chandra Roy made a fervent appeal to drop or substantially modify this Bill as it was definitely considered by him to be "ill-conceived and mischievous". "It will do no good" said Acharya Roy "not even to the communalists, as education is a sensitive plant grown in the free atmosphere of mutual confidence. If you want to nurture and develop it, do not cut it off from its roots of national unity". He further sounded the grave note of warning that in case the Bill was persisted in the form introduced, "there would be no peace in Bengal.

Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, the world-renowned scholar and oriental savant, strongly deprecated the introduction of communal principle in the sacred field of education and claimed, as one belonging to the teaching profession, to feel the proud privilege to be instruments for the preservation and maintenance of our culture which had an uninterrupted period of continuity for over fifty centuries.

Other critics had examined the detailed clauses of the Bill and pointed out with meticulous care the pernicious character of each of them.

It was stated by the supporters of the Bill that Government had kept in view the Sadler Commission's recommendations in coming to the conclusions with regard to the provisions in this measure. Acharya

Prafulla Roy, however, pointed out in his presidential address delivered at the Protest Conference, that the scheme propounded by the Sadler Commission was entirely different in respect of both ideas and methods from what is now proposed in the Bill. While the eminent members of the Commission recorded their "strong sympathy with the view that one of the greatest needs of India is more education", the present Bill seeks to restrict education. "The Board of Secondary Education recommended by the Sadler Commission was to be free from Government control, whereas the proposed Board of the Bill will have official control to the largest possible extent. The Sadler Commission did not recommend any Executive Council, while the Bill has provided for it and invested it with plenary powers. The present Bill has given an important place to the Inspectorate to which the Commission was definitely opposed. The Sadler Commission recommended that the Regulations of the Board should not be subject to the approval of the Government, but the provisions of the Bill are just the reverse in this respect. The Commission contemplated financial autonomy for the Board, but in the Bill the Board is made completely subservient to the Government in financial matters. It was laid down by the Commission that 'the improvement, salaries and prospects of teachers in secondary schools is an indispensable condition of reform' for which provision was to be made by the Government; we however, seek in vain for any such provision in the present Bill. Another recommendation of the Commission was that the Calcutta University should receive from the Government a permanent annual grant to compensate in full for the loss of its income, but this recommendation has been altogether ignored by the framers of the Bill. Lastly, the Sadler Commission held that the reorganisation of secondary education 'must have behind it a strong movement of public opinion and it must be accompanied by greatly increased expenditure from the public funds'. The Government in the present case proposed to establish the Board in the teeth of strong opposition. With regard to increased expenditure, the Commission considered that an additional expenditure of a crore and a half of rupees would be necessary to make the schools thoroughly efficient. But the Government of Bengal do not think it necessary to provide for a single pice for additional expenditure. The Bill does not follow either the spirit or the letter of the recommendation of the Sadler Commission."

The Syndicate of the Calcutta University in a report adopetd by the Senate on the 25th January last considered that the present Bill was "even more unsatisfactory and retrograde than the proposals of 1937 which the Senate rejected without any dissent" and were unable to regard this Bill as a measure calculated to advance the cause of Secondary Education in Bengal. They found that the Bill was not based upon certain fundamental principles without which no educational reform was possible, *viz.*, (1) adequate provision of statutory grants

for effecting necessary reforms and for undertaking schemes of expansion, (2) maintenance of autonomy of the Board and freedom from interference by the Government, (3) constitution of the Board on academic lines only, free from communal considerations, (4) maintenance of close co-operation with the University, and (5) securing strong support of public opinion behind the measure.

Dealing with the constitution of the Board, the Syndicate pointed out that "the Board evidently would be official-ridden." Apart from this defect "the Bill excludes the representation of teachers on the Executive Council and gives them inadequate representation on the Board and its committees. It does not provide for any representation of managing committees or of guardians or of the public interested in education, nor has any representation been given to agriculture, commerce, science and industry." The report further went on to say that "the representation given to the Calcutta University is extremely inadequate while large representation is given to Europeans although there exists a separate statutory board for European and Anglo-Indian Education", and "communal principle has been introduced in the constitution not only of the Board but also of the Executive Council and the various committees". "As a University", said the Syndicate, "we are opposed to communal representation and we look upon this part of the Bill with disfavour".

The Syndicate further drew particular attention to the volume and extent of public opinion against the Bill and observed that this could not and should not be flouted, as "non-official effort has been largely responsible for the progress hitherto achieved in the domain of Secondary Education" in this province. Finally, the Syndicate recorded their genuine alarm that "the Bill would inevitably bring about a serious curtailment of the existing facilities for Secondary Education in Bengal and the provision regarding the automatic withdrawal of recognition from all existing schools after two years is calculated to cripple the educational progress of the province."

It will not be possible for me to state even briefly all the salient points of the numerous criticisms that have been levelled against this measure by various organisations and persons, within the short time at my disposal, and I shall now summarise the demands put forward in this connection, most of which are embodied in the motion of Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri:

WE DEMAND that the Board of Secondary Education in Bengal should be entrusted with the development and guidance of secular education only. Speaking of the aim that we should have in securing education for our children, Sir Sarpavalli Radhakrishnan said:

"In this unfortunate world we talk of young men and young women, blessed in every sense of the term, fresh from the mint of

Nature, unspoilt and upsophisticated in their outlook and with a universal bond of sympathy, binding them, one with the other. These beautiful specimens of Nature enter into nurseries, colleges and institutions. What do we make of them? You might remember how Jesus Christ spoke of them, 'Of such is the kingdom of Heaven'. Do not lead them to stumble, lead them into the paths of virtue and sanity. Do not cramp their spirit; do not cripple their personality. That is the idea which we have had; that is the aim of education which we are called upon to develop. Education is not merely transmission of ideas; it is transmission of loyalty, and virtues of ideals and appreciation.

"If the world is in flames to-day, the direct responsibility for that to a very large extent, lies with educational institutions. It is, therefore, our prerogative and privilege to take hold of young men and women and train them into human beings filled with love and gentleness. That is the idea which we had had for times without number. That did not mean that they had been intolerant of their faiths. Whoever had taken home in this country had been dominated by the cultural landscape of India. Muslims and Christians had come to this country, but an Indian outlook binds the minds of these communities. Even in this tragic moment of disintegration of cultural and political unity they could easily see how much the landscape of India had been able to capture the minds of these communities. They in India were geographically, racially, psychologically and culturally one. Different communities and different religions might have come to take their dwellings in this land, but they all were subdued by the overwhelming atmosphere of this country. Did not this indicate that the spirit of India was something which was larger than Hindus, Muslims, Christians or Buddhists? Here was a culture to which all races and communities had contributed. Was it not their duty to preserve that culture which was imposed on them by the facts of history, and geography and by the facts of psychology? This excellent culture of theirs had the power to save not only India but to save the world."

These are the sentiments that I want every one of us to remember when we provide for the future generation a scheme of Secondary Education for the country, and therefore our first and foremost demand is that the Board should preserve and develop secular education only, suitable for all communities.

Secondly, WE DEMAND that apart from general secular education the Board should deal with and develop vocational education such as agricultural, technical, commercial and military education.

Thirdly, WE DEMAND that the Board should be fully autonomous and free from any interference by Government or by politicians.

Fourthly, WE DEMAND that in order to secure this autonomy the President should be a person of unimpeachable strength of character, a man with educational experience and one commanding public confidence and the full confidence of the Board, and in order to secure the appointment of such a President a special machinery will have to be devised.

For the same reason WE DEMAND that the Inspectorate staff who will deal with the schools under the purview of the Board should be entirely under the control of the Board from the very date of its inception.

WE DEMAND that the regulations of the Board should be framed by the Board itself, subject to such minimum control by Government as may be found absolutely necessary.

WE DEMAND that the budget of the Board should not be interfered with except where there may be a deficit or there may be proposals which are likely in future to entail recurring expenses that cannot be met from the funds available to the Board.

WE DEMAND that adequate protection should be provided to ensure the continued recognition of existing high schools at present enjoying the recognition by the University of Calcutta.

WE DEMAND that conditions for recognition of high schools and for the payment of grants-in-aid should be statutorily provided and not left to the Board or to the Provincial Government to determine.

WE DEMAND that the syllabuses and curricula for the Matriculation Examination of Universities should have the approval of the Universities.

WE DEMAND that examinations should be conducted by an independent statutory committee purely on academic basis.

WE DEMAND that the Board should be contented with the approval of text-books and should not undertake publication of the same.

WE DEMAND that there should be an adequate financial provision made to enable the Board to function properly and to develop and improve Secondary Education. Such financial provision should keep in view not only the payment of suitable grants-in-aid for the schools to function but also to improve and to secure the pay and prospects of the teaching staff.

WE DEMAND that the University of Calcutta should be fully compensated for to cover all the loss that it may suffer from the institution of the Board.

WE DEMAND that the Government schools should be deprovincialised.

WE DEMAND that there should be a statutory guarantee of non-victimisation of any person connected with the management or teaching in secondary schools on account of his holding any political opinion or religious faith.

And WE DEMAND that the Board should provide proper representation for Managing Committees and experts in vocational education such as agricultural, technical, commercial education and the like.

So far, our demands have been entirely based on academic considerations and there is not one word in these demands which smacks of any idea of communal domination by one community over the other.

And last but not the least WE DEMAND that the Board, the Executive Council and other Committees should be constituted on academic considerations only and there should be no scope for communalism in the constitution of the same. As our esteemed colleague Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu had said yesterday, we want the sacred precincts of education to be left untarred and unpolluted by the virus of communalism.

We demand the recommittal of the Bill to enable the Government to examine these suggestions once more and to effect necessary improvements. We appeal to the Hindu Ministers in particular to see that the heritage to which they have been born may be preserved and maintained. We demand of them, in particular, because some of them, at least one of them, can very rightly claim his title to this heritage. His illustrious father, irrespective of community, had set an example to every one in this province as to how education should be secured and how money should be spent in the advancement of learning. If my friends on the other side do not know, let me tell them that the late Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandy, of Cossimbazar, had spent money for getting even Muslim scholars educated in Arabia and in Turkey in the holy scriptures and tenets of Islam which can be available only at those places. We demand of these Ministers that in case they find that an insensate group that goes about by the name of the Coalition Party is not prepared to listen to reason and common sense, then they should go out of the Ministry and give a lead to the country. We appeal to the Ministers concerned not to leave such an important matter merely to the vote of a particular group.

Sir, the Opposition had extended their hand of co-operation in this connection with all sincerity. We were willing to help and we made some progress while with an open heart we sat round a conference. It was, however, our sad experience that immediately after certain things happened in Bombay the conference took a new turn. The members of the Coalition Party who were there immediately thereafter evinced a peculiar psychology and they said that they were not

prepared to budge an inch from what was there in the Bill. If that was going to be the attitude of those friends, surely it was not fair on their part to call us to a conference with the assurance that things will be approached with an open mind. We have so far failed to obtain a sincere response but I still entertain a hope, for I am an optimist. The failure to come to an agreement in this connection is likely to lead to serious consequences. I am not holding out any threat but surely my friends know it full well into what deep abyss of chaos the province will be thrown in case this Bill is rushed through and the steam roller is allowed to go over us irrespective of the considerations that we have placed before the House for careful examination.

Sir, I earnestly urge the Government to accept this motion so that they may examine all aspects of this failure that we have had so far in coming to an agreement and not allow the good work done during the last two weeks to be entirely spoilt. We are anxious to see that education may at least be fully preserved while passing and adopting the Secondary Education Bill.

Dr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the motion for recommittal of the Bill to the Select Committee. Sir, in the history of this province there have been legislative measures which have called forth strong criticism from the public at large, but I believe, Sir, that within recent years, as Mr. Wordsworth pointed out a few minutes ago, no measure has aroused such bitter and such widespread controversy as the Secondary Education Bill. The opposition has not been for its own sake merely. The opposition has not even been due to the fact that there have been important elements in public life of this province which have been opposed to the general policy of administration pursued by the Government during the last four years. The critics included persons not only belonging to different political parties and organisations but also men and institutions who had nothing to do with politics whatsoever but who thought it their sacred duty to oppose the fundamental principles underlying the Secondary Education Bill. May I ask, Sir, the Government and its supporters to pause for a moment and to consider to ask themselves, why did men belonging to such differing points of view agree to condemn this measure? They have done so not because they thought that it was a pleasure to oppose a Bill which was supposed to be a Bill to secure the educational advancement of the province, but they did so because they considered it to be their duty to oppose a measure which was calculated to retard the progress of education, and if accepted unchallenged, would sound the death-knell of education itself.

Conscious as I am of the great contributions which education has made in this province during the last one hundred years I shall be

free to confess that there are important directions in which educational reform has to be effected before education could serve the real needs of the people as a whole. I shall also freely confess, Sir, that of all the different stages of education secondary education is from some points of view the most important. The adoption of a correct standard at this stage can only make any national system of elementary education real and effective and also furnish an appropriate basis for that noble super-structure of higher education which would reflect the genius and aspirations of the people at large. It is because I feel genuinely and I ask my friends who do not see eye to eye with us to believe me when I say so, it is because I genuinely feel that secondary education to-day requires urgent and imperative reforms that I have considered it my duty to scrutinise the scheme for its reorgnisation and to ask myself whether the proposals really aim at better provisions for educational facilities of the children of Bengal, irrespective of sect or community, or whether in the garb of educational reform it is proposed to sacrifice the basic ideals of education and to curtail its expansion. If we want better education, as undoubtedly we do, we want more education also.

Education must also be saved from the destructive influences of party politics and I do not care what the particular brand of that party politics is. To-day more than ever we stand in urgent need for devising a system of education which will not be governed by a regimentation of rules and regulations drawing inspiration from the political views of a particular group or caucus. The correct relationship between the State and education has always been a matter of debate, but it is of supreme importance that while allowing the State general powers of supervision, the educational policy must not be allowed to divert to channels leading to consequences detrimental to the welfare of the people. We must allow education to be shaped by men who are actuated by educational ideals and not swayed by political creeds or dogma. We must permit our educational institutions full freedom and scope to develop their activities according to their best light and judgment. This freedom will not be lost, but will create that greater freedom on which our country's destiny must ultimately be based. If party politics or an aggressive totalitarian State policy be allowed to influence education, it will produce most baneful effect on the development of our national life. We in this province, Sir, have very special reasons to entertain our distrust of wide powers of interference being given to the Government constituted under the present law. So long as Communal Award and separate electorates continue we see no prospect of the establishment of a really representative Government which will command the confidence of the different sections of the people. In particular, the administration of the Province for the last four years

under the control of the present Ministry has left us with bitter experiences. It has filled the minds of a very large section of the people with very grave misgivings and uncertainty about the future protection of the legitimate rights and interests of nearly one-half of the population of this province. We are firmly opposed to political influences in the sphere of education. We dislike official domination as it is detrimental to sound educational progress. In Bengal political and official domination is closely linked up with communal squabbles which, if unchecked, will sound the death-knell of true education.

Let me now, Sir, briefly place before you the reason why we do not wish that Government should proceed with the Bill as has been introduced into the House. The definition of "secondary education" as is given in the Bill discloses a lamentable want of the sense of realities of the framers and supporters. It leaves the matter to be determined by the Provincial Government in such manner as it may consider fit and proper from time to time. One of our greatest defects has been the predominance of the literary type of education which renders many of our youths almost unfit for practical vocations. Our greatest need to-day is to divert education to diverse channels of useful knowledge connected with technical, agricultural and commercial education. What we ask is this: should not the Government undertake to include this important aspect in the Bill and authorise the Board to proceed with a scheme of expansion without any delay whatsoever? We do not want the matter to be left to chance or to the whims of a particular Government, present or future. We want the Legislature to lay down the policy here and now.

Again the Bill apparently seeks to include within its scope certain special institutions closely related to Islamic culture and tradition. The scope of general education or special education open to a community must be clearly determined by us, so that both the Board and the people at large may know the extent of the activities entrusted to the Board. We want our secondary education to develop purely on secular lines. There may be many both amongst Hindus and Muslims who may like to see a sound general education generously provided for their children which at the same time will be properly correlated to their own cultural and religious ideals. There may be others who may be desirous of seeing the development of education based strictly on orthodox principles. To my mind such different systems of education with an ultimate standard which may be approximately equalised should remain in charge of separate authorities each being assured of just and ample protection and patronage at the hands of the State. If, however, the Board is to include within its scope specialised education for one community, the claims of others as well must be equally recognised. The Bill, as amended, leaves this very important question vague and undecided. Without funds no reform is possible. In fact,

money, want of resources, has been our chief stumbling block in the past. The Bill, as revised, provides for an additional grant of Rs. 25 lakhs in 5 years. This is better than what was originally provided for in the Bill. Who will deny that even this amount is ridiculously low? A sum equal to at least 50 per cent. of the existing expenditure on secondary education should be the minimum State grant, and according to this well-accepted principle,—when I say well-accepted I mean not only in provinces outside Bengal, but also in countries outside India,—they should give us at least Rs. 85 lakhs in place of the proposed Rs. 50 lakhs in the course of next five years. Will Government make the provision before they claim to exercise control and supervision through the Board? The Board, as contemplated, will be a part and parcel of the Bengal Secretariat. The powers given to it do not endow the Board with that autonomy which it must possess if it is going to serve the cause of education whether of Hindus or of Muslims or of any other communities. All its regulations will require the previous approval of the Government. It will not be given even the liberty to frame its own rules. It must be done by an over-generous and over-zealous Government. Its executive council which will be its principal body is so balanced and adjusted as to reflect principally the view-point of the officials and persons nominated by the Government. The same criticism applies to the constitution of the Board. Its budget and its powers under the financial provisions are so securely limited that it is almost reduced to a third-rate department of the Bengal Secretariat. Not satisfied with constituting the Board in a manner so as to keep it under the heels of Government, not satisfied with controlling its finances, Government retain to themselves the right to rescind and cancel any resolution of the Board or of its committees, to remove the members, to dismiss the members and to do other acts which render the formation of a separate board entirely useless and nugatory. To my mind only two simple clauses can serve the purpose of the present Bill. First, let it be laid down that the Government of Bengal, so long as the present Ministry is in power, may deal with any secondary school in Bengal in any manner that they deem fit and pass such orders as they may consider expedient in their own interests.

Secondly, let it be laid down that the Government of Bengal be empowered so long as the present Ministry is in power to deal with the University of Calcutta in any manner that it may in its unwisdom consider to be just and proper. You may ask me why I refer to the University of Calcutta. It has been said that the University has opposed the Bill, particularly the persons connected with the University have criticised the Bill as the University was going to be deprived of a power which it has enjoyed for the last eighty years. Let me say this without fear of any contradiction that the University has never opposed the idea of the establishment of a properly constituted Board

of Secondary Education with powers and resources to serve the cause of education in this province. If the University has in the past opposed particular measures, it is not because it disliked the principle of the establishment of the Board but it believed genuinely that the proposals under consideration were not intended for educational advancement, but for either mischievous restriction of education or for providing a machinery which would further deteriorate its cause. The Bill as revised has a peculiar way of approach in respect of matters vitally affecting the University of Calcutta. I can understand a Board of Secondary Education that will hold its own final examination or examinations, recognise schools for the purpose and control the conditions of admission to such examination. But who has ever heard that the Board will not only lay down conditions for admission to its own examinations but also to the Matriculation examination of the University? I believe it is a sacred right of every self-respecting University throughout the world to determine its own admission tests. The report of the Select Committee goes a step further and to crown the humiliation of the University of Calcutta which is one of the objects of the present Bill suggests that the University Act should be amended and it should be laid down that the University will not be entitled to hold its own admission tests but shall be bound to accept the examination of the Board for the purpose. To my mind, the normal and rational course to be followed if educational reform is the main object of the framers is to permit the Board to lay down its own courses of study, to recognise its own schools and to hold its own examinations. One paramount condition should be that all matters connected with examinations, syllabus and text-books should be entrusted to an authority or more constituted under statute on academic consideration which will command the confidence of all parties and will be a guarantee for the maintenance of the proper standard of such examinations. The Bill may also lay down that the content and standard of this examination should be such as will enable the students to be admitted to any Indian University. It will then be for the Board and the Calcutta University and other Universities in India to come to an agreement that the University of Calcutta will normally accept the examination as equivalent to its own admission tests. After all if matters are looked upon from the educational standpoint—it will be a tragedy if it is otherwise—there is no reason whatsoever why the University and the Board should come into any unnecessary conflict leading to consequences which will be disastrous to the best interests of the children of this province. While the report of the Select Committee indicates the anxiety of the Government and its supporters to take away from the University its right to hold its Matriculation examination, there is no mention anywhere of any proposal on the part, of Government to compensate the University for the loss of its income. The activities of the University depend on the income from fees,

endowments and State grant. The State grant covers about 15 per cent. of the total expenditure of the University. The failure of the Government to provide for a State grant by way of compensation of loss of University revenue can only be interpreted as its desire to see that its activities may be crippled by giving the University a blow from which it can hardly recover.

Let me now refer to the features of the Bill which are connected with communal considerations. It is one thing for Government to provide in the Bill that the Board should represent different interests both from the academic standpoint and also from the point of view of education of different communities. But one has only to glance at the detailed provisions of the Bill, the composition of the Board, the Executive Council and the various committees to discover how deep has the canker of communalism entered into the body of the Bill. It is officialisation and communalism of the Bengal brand that gives us a bitter mixture of gas and poison which even the special castor oil of Messrs. Wordsworth and Co. will not be able to counteract.

Not satisfied with providing for distribution of seats among elected and nominated non-officials, even the officials are divided into separate communal zones. If official X is a Hindu, official Y must be a Muslim. If official A is a Hindu male, official B must be a Muslim female. Let me ask if both communities are not prepared to call upon the officials to act as true servants of the people as a whole and not of one community in particular, will it be possible for any Government to run the administration of the province in a manner that will inspire the confidence of the public at large? We have taken strong objection to the appointment of the President being made by the Government directly. Particularly in view of the very wide executive powers which the President will enjoy, we consider it necessary that this appointment should be made solely on consideration of educational expansion and efficiency. The reported stories associated with many appointments directly in the hands of Government have been too many. Latterly there might have been occasions when the hands of the Government have been either gently forced by strange and unknown considerations or rudely influenced by pressure from party opinion. Our alternative suggestions in this respect include: first, the election of the President by the Board itself; secondly, appointment by Government out of a panel of names to be proposed by the Board; and thirdly, appointment by Government on the recommendation of a specially composed committee which may include persons such as the Minister of Education, the Chairman of the Public Service Commission, two Vice-Chancellors of the Calcutta and Dacca Universities and an impartial expert adviser such as the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India. We believe if the last alternative is accepted, it will ensure the appointment of a worthy

person as the President of the Board who will not only command the confidence of the Government but also the confidence of all sections of the public at large. We insist upon making a statutory provision to this effect, so that the selection of the President may not be thrown into the melting pot of any personal or political group jobbery.

Another serious defect in the Bill is that for an unknown period which may extend to even fifteen years, the Board will be deprived of the services of its own inspectorate. You will recall that one of the serious defects from which the present system of secondary education suffers is that the University has no inspecting staff of its own and it passes my comprehension how in any Bill which seems to improve the present conditions of affairs there should not be a strict and stringent provision that the Board will from the very beginning have at its disposal the services of a competent inspectorate staff.

I think I have given sufficient indication of the retrograde nature of the Bill. We met the Government and certain nominees of the Coalition Party during the last few weeks at successive sittings of a conference. I do not propose to disclose our discussions during the present debate but let me record, Sir, my appreciation of the very free and frank manner in which the different viewpoints were placed before the conference and its sub-committee. I have always felt that the situation in Bengal, specially in respect of its communal atmosphere, will not improve unless both parties are prepared to face the differences in a spirit of mutual understanding and toleration. Sweet words will not remove barriers or secure smooth sailing. There is deep-rooted mutual distrust. There is strong mutual suspicion. Either the gulf of differences will be widened and bitterness will be piled upon bitterness resulting in consequences not helpful to either party or to the province as a whole or while agreeing to differ on other matters which have yet to be explored it is possible for us to take up education as a separate issue and find out if any honourable settlement can yet be reached on this question.

I genuinely believe that it is only on education, rightly planned and executed, that Bengal's great future will depend, and that Bengal must include all parties and communities who stand for the welfare of the great province, Hindus, Muslims, Buddhists, Christians, Europeans and Anglo-Indians, all uniting together for the educational uplift of the sons and daughters of Bengal. It is from this point of view that for the last fortnight we had incessantly worked and were genuinely anxious to bring about a solution acceptable to all. There can be no settlement between yes and no. An honourable settlement means the embodiment of the largest measure of agreement without sacrificing any principles and cherished ideals. I believe a Hindu may well remain a loyal Hindu, a Moslem a faithful Moslem and a Christian a true Christian, and yet all be patriotic Bengalis and Indians. Our education may be

so devised as to rouse the legitimate pride and respect in all of us for our own culture and tradition, at the same time we may all learn the value of tolerance and understanding and submit ourselves to the ennobling influences of a common citizenship, which would call forth some sacrifice from each of us, not for the purpose of weakening any element, but for the purpose of strengthening the foundation, solid and true, of that great Indian nationhood which has been the dream of every patriotic son and daughter of India. Our discussions brought us, Hindus and Moslems, nearer together than many of us had perhaps anticipated. They broke down on certain points which both sides regarded as fundamental but in my humble opinion not yet insoluble. I shall ask the Government and its supporters to hold their hands and not to proceed with the present Bill. Nothing will be more welcome to the Hon'ble the Chief Minister and to the general public in this province than an agreed measure of educational reform. We the elders may fight our battles in other spheres of differences but if both of us are anxious that our children should receive better education than what we have ourselves received, why should we not put our heads together and be determined to come to an honourable agreement acceptable to both parties? The agreements already reached make far-reaching changes in the Bill necessary. Other important points still remain to be explored. The House cannot possibly consider this Bill in its present form and be asked to accept important amendments piece-meal which we and other members of the Assembly have not yet seen. The entire structure of the Bill must be reframed and only can then the House and the public determine how far it goes to meet the view-points of its critics. On this ground alone I would appeal to the Hon'ble the Chief Minister to agree to refer back the Bill to the Select Committee for further consideration. Let there be no misgiving on one fundamental point. The Bill, as it stands and as it has been introduced into the House, is utterly unacceptable to us. It is not aimed to serve education and it specially injures the interests of the Hindus who have been responsible for the building up of hundreds and thousands of schools in this province where all communities have received their education. By one stroke of the pen it is proposed to withdraw recognition automatically from all high schools after two years, and the onus will be thrown on them to satisfy the board in respect of their claim for continued existence. These schools, may I remind the House, have all been granted recognition under law and mostly on reports of Government Inspectors themselves. This alone shows the spirit of callousness which has characterised the policy underlying the present Bill.

The Chief Minister the other day issued an appeal asking all parties and organisations to unite and eloquently said that in this hour of national peril, when civilisation itself was challenged, all controversies

must be hushed. That was the expression which he used in the appeal. The test of the sincerity of his appeal will arise to-day. Here is a measure of controversy which, for valid and cogent reasons, is disliked by a large section of the people who feel that their vital interests are about to be jeopardised. They are willing to offer the hand of co-operation. Negotiations have brought the contending parties nearer each other than ever before. Is it a case of declaration of war like the attack on Iran, a case of ultimatum that if within a certain date we do not fall in line with the powers that be, the measure will be forced on the province by reason of the voting strength of the party supporting the Ministry? If that is the attitude of Government, if that is the attitude of the party supporting the Government, the Chief Minister's appeal was not worth the paper on which it was written. But I hope and trust, Sir, that the good work which we who have fought with each other so long, have done during the last fortnight will not be destroyed by any section of the members of this Assembly, and while there is yet time, education may be saved and strengthened for paving the way to communal harmony and understanding in this province and for national solidarity at this critical juncture in the darkest hour of the history of our motherland.

At this stage the House was adjourned for 20 minutes.

(After adjournment.)

Mr. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE: Mr. Speaker, last year, when this Assembly assembled, we entered our protest against the provisions of the Bengal Secondary Education Bill. Twelve months have elapsed since then and what has happened during those twelve months entitles me to say that in that protest we carried with us the sympathies, the support, and may I add, the convictions of the entire Hindu community and an overwhelmingly large body of educated opinion in this province. Sir, we offered uncompromising opposition to the Bill because we felt that the Bill was communal both in inspiration and intention, and I desire at this stage to quote in support of the position we took, a few passages from the speeches of members of the Coalition Party themselves last year.

I do not propose to-day to give the names of those speakers but, starting from the most exalted amongst them, may I remind the House that it was said by him last year that "the members of the Coalition Party are also determined to show to the world that they would be untrue to Islam and untrue to their heritage if they do not place this Bill permanently on the Statute Book?" I asked to myself twelve months ago and I ask to-day, if this Bill was and is a purely educational measure, where and how did this question of loyalty to Islam come in.

Another distinguished member of the Coalition Party, whom I see to-day to my left, said, "Neither the University nor the Government of India encouraged and fostered the growth and revival of the glorious heritage of Islam. Cut off from real moorings of life Muslim boys have been compelled to feed on ideals and ideas hostile to the spirit and genius of Islam."

Yet another member of the same party said on that occasion as an objection to the present system of education that "there was no provision for a prayer room for Muslim boys to say their *Zohur* or evening prayer."

Yet another member said: "A nephew of mine was only the other day asked by me if he could tell me what were the cardinal principles and practices prescribed in Islam. Believe it or not, Sir, he said he could not give me any satisfactory answer. He could not mention *Kalimah, Namaz, Roza, Hadj* and *Zakat*".

And lastly another member of the same party said that "for the last 50 or 60 years the Mahomedan boys had to read Ramayana and Mahabharata,"—very much in the same strain in which he spoke yesterday—"without knowing anything about Abu Bakr and other Saints of Islam. They were taught in the schools by compulsion such things as polytheism, idolatry and polyandry from the stories in Ramayana and Mahabharata."

I have quoted these short extracts from the speeches which were delivered twelve months ago in this Assembly in order to demonstrate beyond the shadow of a doubt that this Bill when it was presented last year was communal both in its inspiration and intention. Has the position changed since then? If you look into the provisions of the Bill as it has emerged from the Select Committee I venture to say that the provisions have become even more retrograde, even more reactionary, even more harmful to the cause of Secondary Education in Bengal.

Sir, my honourable friend the member representing the Cox's Bazar constituency said yesterday that we of the Opposition did not put forward any constructive proposals during the last twelve months. I am afraid, Sir, he had not followed either the speeches delivered from this side of the House or the constructive proposals which were made both from the Press and the platform. I may remind him that we of the Opposition said that the Bill showed no comprehension of the nature and functions of Secondary Education, that the Bill showed that its authors did not realise that Secondary Education was really equivalent to what has been described by Bryce as technical education. Sir, constructive proposals were put forward from this side of the House regarding the nature and the scope of Secondary Education but those constructive proposals do not form part of the provisions of the Bill as it has emerged from the Select Committee.

Then again, we said that the vital problem of finance was not attempted to be tackled seriously. In the Bill that has emerged from the Select Committee we still find that there is no serious attempt to tackle the financial problem.

The third constructive proposal we submitted in the course of our speeches was that provision must be made for administrative direction of Secondary Education. We find that that also has been disregarded. We also said that the provision must be made in the Bill for improvement of the standard of schooling and also with respect to the important problem of the status and training of teachers. The Bill, as it has emerged from the Select Committee, is silent on those points.

Lastly, we pointed out various other important omissions in the Bill, omissions which have been summarised in the motion which has been moved in this House by my honourable and learned friend Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri.

If you go through the grounds put forward in support of the motion, you will find that each and every ground mentioned in the motion was put forward for the consideration of the Select Committee in the course of the speeches which were delivered from this side of the House. And yet we find that until a fortnight ago when an enlarged special committee met in order to try to bring about an agreement between the different parties, until a fortnight ago no serious attempt was made to consider any of those constructive proposals or to embody any of them in the Bill.

Sir, my honourable friend Mr. Birat Chandra Mandal was anxious yesterday, far too anxious, to find himself and us in a compromising position. (Laughter.) Speaking for myself I am not anxious at all and I have not been anxious at all at any time of my life to find myself in a compromising position. More often than not I have found myself—and I take legitimate pride in that fact—more often than not I have found myself in an uncompromising position (cries of "Hear, hear" from the Congress Benches) and the party which supports me and which sits in the benches behind me has always supported that uncompromising position. (Cries of "Hear, hear" from the Congress Benches.) The uncompromising position which we took more than twelve months ago is more than justified by what has happened during the last twelve months and I say, Sir, that the objection that was raised to the recommittal motion by the honourable member representing Cox's Bazar constituency has really no merits in it. Why did we take that uncompromising position? It is true, Sir, that during the last three years, as I had occasion to say at another place, "it has been my lot and that of my colleagues to offer opposition in the legislature to many

reactionary measures, but none of them were fraught with so much potentiality for mischief as the proposed Secondary Education Bill. Those other measures may have dealt grievous blows to the cause of Democracy and Nationalism in this country or done injustice to certain communities in the interests of others. But that touched only the present. This Bill mortgages the future. It stretches the grasping hand of reaction and sectionalism towards posterity. It seeks so to shape eduation in our coming generation that they will never be able to shake off the chain that is being forged for them."

Sir, I had expected, notwithstanding the constitution of the Select Committee, that the Hon'ble Minister for Education would take note of some of the constructive proposals that we put forward from this side of the House and my expectation was based on certain remarks which he made in the course of his speech. Sir, he said towards the conclusion of his speech at the time of introducing the Bill that "a cry comes from the children of the soil." I responded to his appeal and said that the cry of the children of the soil was for agricultural education. Yet we find that there is no provision made in the Bill as it stands to-day for agricultural education. He said further "a cry comes from the children of the artisans." I responded and said that the cry of the children of the artisans was for technical education. And yet we find there is no provision in the Bill, as it stands, for technical education. He said further "a cry comes from the children of shop-keepers." I responded and said that the cry from the children of shop-keepers was for business and commercial education. And yet we find no provision whatever in the Bill for business and commercial education. He wound up his appeal in words which have been broken by his own Select Committee both in their letter and in their spirit. In an impassioned appeal he said that the cry comes to us not as Muslims, not as Hindus, not as Christians or Buddhists but as lovers of Bengal. I ask him in all humility to consider the provisions of the Bill as it stands to-day and tell us if he finds that his appeal had been responded to by members of his own Select Committee.

Sir, the time has come for us to consider, not whether we should cast our wistful eyes towards Delhi or Whitehall, not whether we should cast our wistful eyes towards Arabia, Kashan, Isfahan or Teheran but whether we should cast our eyes towards our own districts, our own homes, our own villages and our own people, whether Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs or Christians. A few days ago, I said at a conference, where my services had been requisitioned, that before discussions were started we should make up our mind on one important point. I asked —was it our idea and ideal to train up our sons and daughters as good Bengalis and good Indians or was it our idea and ideal to train up our sons and daughters as mere Hindus or mere Muslims or mere

Christians? The response that I had was encouraging; but, unfortunately, I found eventually that in certain important matters the Government or, at any rate, those who represented the Government for the moment had come forward with their minds made up, not with their minds open to the reception of new ideas.

Sir, I will not take up your time by going into a detailed discussion of the provisions of the Bill as it stands to-day. But the Hon'ble Minister for Education will pardon me if I repeat that his impassioned appeal was not responded to by the members of his own party. Only one part of his speech was responded to and that is why we find ourselves in the situation in which we are to-day. In one portion of his speech he said—unwittingly I hope, without realising its true implication and meaning I hope—that the ability of the Legislature could be devoted to making "minor changes and adjustments." That is all that the Select Committee has attempted to do. Unfortunately, those minor changes and adjustments have made the provisions of the Bill much worse than what they were twelve months ago.

Sir, I had expected that the Hon'ble Minister for Education would draw the attention of members of his own Select Committee to the fundamentals which he had enunciated in the course of his speech. I take my stand to-day on those fundamentals. And applying the tests furnished by those fundamentals, I venture to submit to this house that the answer is irresistible that the Bill as it has emerged out of the Select Committee has taken no note of those fundamentals. The first fundamental he enunciated was this that the presence on the Board of adequate representation of various communities must be guaranteed. That fundamental, Sir, has been disregarded. Speaking of one particular community,—my own community—the facts that it has by far an overwhelming majority in the matter of school population, that during the last fifty years it has contributed more than any other community to the rearing up of secondary education, that members of that community have contributed not only their sons and daughters towards the development and expansion of secondary education but have also given money in lakhs and tens of lakhs for the development and expansion of secondary education,—those facts have been totally disregarded and we are told to-day that that particular community is not entitled to the very fair representation we demanded. Sir, the second fundamental enunciated by the Hon'ble Minister of Education was that the Board must be largely autonomous and should have complete control of all secondary school activities. That fundamental also, the second fundamental mentioned by him, has been completely disregarded by members of his own Select Committee. The Bill as it stands to-day does not provide for an autonomous Board. The Bill as it stands to-day does not give the Board complete control of all secondary school activities. Details on this subject have been

furnished to the House by my honourable friends who preceded me and I shall not detain the House by an enumeration of all those details. The third fundamental according to him was that such ultimate control over the Board's activities as is necessary must be exercised by Government. Sir, we on this side of the House do not object to such ultimate control over the Board's activities as may be necessary to be exercised by Government. But what we do object to is that the Board should be a completely officialised body acting under the dictates of a certain department in the Bengal Secretariat. Sir, I venture to remind the Hon'ble Minister for Education of those fundamentals because judged by those fundamentals and those fundamentals only, if a dispassionate judgment is passed on the provisions of the Bill in the light of those fundamentals, I have no doubt myself that the strongest argument will be furnished for the recommittal of the Bill to the Select Committee.

Now, Sir, so far as secondary education is concerned, I have already said it will not do for us to cast our eyes to distant lands. It will not do for us to consider ourselves as Hindus or Muslims or Christians or Sikhs first. We have to approach the Bill from one view-point and one view-point only. It is this: Do the provisions of the Bill really provide for the development and expansion of secondary education in Bengal? May I in this connexion venture to address an appeal to the Hon'ble Minister for Education? My appeal to him is this. I ask him, as the Leader of the Opposition I ask him, to give a lead to Bengal in this matter. I know, Sir, the definition of a "leader" which passes current nowadays is that he is a person who allows himself to be led. I hope that he will not for one moment subscribe to that definition. I hope as the Minister of Education of this province, as Minister of Education for all the communities inhabiting this vast province of ours, he will come forward with an open mind and will examine the demands made from this side of the House dispassionately, fairly and with due regard to all that has gone before and also with due regard to all that is coming. I am sure that if he does so, he will concede to us that the demands which have been put forward from this side of the House are demands which are just and reasonable. I know, Sir, and I entirely agree with my honourable friend Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, that during the last fortnight or so much improvement had been made as a result of friendly discussion. Unfortunately the improvement which had been registered at first met with a set-back at a somewhat later stage, because certain members—I will not say who they are, I will not say to which community they belong to—because certain members came with their minds made up on two or three vital questions. We had expected, we had fondly expected, that even on these two or three vital questions, they would come forward with open minds, but unfortunately we found that not only were they sticking to the provisions

of the Bill, they were actually putting their communal demands even higher than what was contained in the provisions of the Bill. I shall not disclose the details because it would not be fair to disclose what they were. But I shall say so—and I say with knowledge of the facts—that the demand for communal representation which was pressed at the Conference was higher than the communal representation which was approved of by the Government in the original Bill, and even higher than is contained in the provisions of the Bill as it has emerged from the Select Committee.

Sir, as I have said, I cannot possibly without breach of confidence disclose the details of the conversations we have had. But even at this late stage, I feel that if the Chief Minister, who is also the Minister for Education, were to come forward with an open mind and examine the respective demands of the respective communities on their merits all will not be lost. There is yet time for arriving at a satisfactory solution on the two or three vital questions which agitated us during the last three or four days at that Special Committee, namely, the question of the constitution of the Board, the question of the constitution of the Executive Council, and the question of the manner and method of the appointment of the President of the Board.

Sir, one word of appeal I shall address to all sections of the House before I resume my seat. I would appeal to my friends in this House, no matter to which community they belong, I would appeal to them to approach the Bill and the provisions of the Bill from an altogether different standpoint, to approach it from the standpoint of the new order which is coming upon us. Let them remember that we on this side of the House did not hesitate to launch an agitation, a serious agitation, an agitation which grew in intensity and volume, even against the University of Calcutta when the time and the occasion called for it. We hold no brief for the University of Calcutta. We do not complain and we shall not complain, if the Secondary Education Board takes upon itself the control of the Matriculation Examination which is now being held by the University of Calcutta or any examination equivalent to it. What we want is that examinations should be conducted by an independent statutory body not liable to be influenced by this community or that, not liable to be influenced either by Writers' Buildings or by College Square.

I appeal to friends in this House on all sides of me to approach this Bill from a purely nationalist standpoint. The new order is coming upon us, whether we will it or not. The new order calls for a synthesis of the different cultures which exist in this land, and particularly in this province. Do not do anything which will destroy that synthesis of cultures which is the result of the last few centuries. Do not do anything which will make our children and our children's children consider that they are Hindus and against Muslims or that they are

Muslims and against Hindus. Do not forget that Bengal is our common land for common purposes, not Hindu against Muslim nor Muslim against Hindu. And, lastly, may I remind you of that eloquent and soul stirring observation which was made by the late Ananda Mohan Bose several decades ago. When speaking of the two major communities inhabiting this province, he said, lying on his death bed on the grounds of the proposed Federation Hall: "The sacred Ganges", meaning the Hindus, "and the holy Jumna", meaning the Muslims, "will co-mingle their waters and unite their waves in one merry march to the azure sea." Let Hindus and Muslims to-day co-mingle and unite in one determined march for the creation of a new order—the new order which will be heralded by the independence of India.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Sir, I do not think it will serve any useful purpose if I go into details with a view to replying to the various criticisms that have been offered against the provisions of this Bill. The time at my disposal is short, and I do not think I can touch even the most prominent of the utterances that have been showered against the provisions of the Bill without raising some amount of controversy which I am most anxious to avoid. But, Sir, however, short the time at my disposal and however brief my opportunities may be, I cannot allow this shortness of time and the brief opportunities to stand in the way of my paying a fitting tribute to the very conciliatory speech which my friend, Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, has delivered on this occasion. Sir, it gives me hope that even though we may be in the midst of a great controversy, when the Bill is in progress, it may be that the considered wisdom of the leaders of the various parties in this House may yet evolve some formula which will remove the differences that exist, and produce an agreed Bill acceptable to all sections of the House. So far as we are concerned, I can declare that the door of approach, of a sincere approach, to a compromise is yet open. Sir, I cannot also pass on to say a few words on this Bill without appreciating the manner in which the members of the Coalition party have restrained themselves throughout this long debate on the provisions of this Bill. I congratulate them on their restraint, particularly when even the very provocative remarks of my friend, Dr. Sanyal, calling them "an insensate crowd" did not call forth a single word of protest.

Now, Sir, let me say a few words by way of a brief statement on the criticisms that have been made against the provisions of the Bill. I mean no offence to my friends of the Opposition when I say that many of the remarks that have been made are utterly irrelevant to the points at issue. I admit, Sir, that when a motion is made that the Bill be taken into consideration, it is open to the members of the House to criticise the provisions of the Bill; but, Sir, the manner in which facts

have been distorted, sometimes not merely distorted but exaggerated beyond measure, not only when we find that have facts been distorted, but many things have been drawn upon imagination in order to make up a case which does not exist. I think a situation arises which calls for a comment. I cannot but refrain from making the remark that the Opposition felt so very convinced of the weakness of their case that they depended more on imagination than on reason in coming forward to criticise the provisions of this Bill.

Sir, my friend the Leader of Opposition, has characterised this Bill as communal, not merely in conception but also in the manner in which the provisions of the Bill have been drafted. He has referred to a remark made by myself last year when I said that we would prove untrue to Islam if we did not place this Bill on the statute book. I am ready to justify that remark. So long as the Opposition is un-Islamic, so long as the Opposition is communal, so long as the Opposition is unjust and unfair, our reply will be Islamic, communal and from our point of view, just and fair. If the Opposition is un-Islamic, the retort from this side is Islamic. If you bring in communalism, you will have communalism in return If you be fair and honest, you will have fairness, honesty and justice.

Dr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: Will you define what is Islamic Opposition?

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: It has been said that so far as this Bill is concerned, it has been received with unmitigated opposition in the country—not merely in this House but in the world outside. Now, Sir, under modern conditions, particularly in Bengal, the words "popular opposition" have acquired a very peculiar meaning. In the province of Bengal, there are about 55 per cent. Muslims and about 45 per cent. of people belonging to other communities. In pressing what is popular opposition you have got to put out of consideration the opinion of the 55 per cent. Muslims. Out of the 45 per cent. that remains, you have got to choose a fraction, and out of that, there is a small fraction again which has by mere shoutings on the platform and press physically demonstrated their opposition. And it is the opinion of this small fraction which is paraded as the opinion of the people of Bengal. The people of Bengal do not mean the various communities that are within the limits of Bengal, but they mean all the communities *minus* the Muslims who constitute the majority community.

Now, Sir, if the contention is that there is no popular support behind this Bill, I am prepared at once to put forward the argument that this Bill has behind it the support of at least 80 per cent. of the

population of this province. Now, Sir, I am not here to adduce evidence in support of what I am stating on this point because the point is so very clear. 55 per cent. Muslims definitely support, the European community are not opposed, the Scheduled Castes are in favour and by summing up all these the total comes up to 80 per cent. easily.

As regards the composition of the Board, reference has been made to the committee that had been sitting for about a fortnight past trying to bring about an agreed Bill and everyone knows, and I say this because reference has been made to this Conference, that it was found as a result of our labours that it was possible to bring about an agreed Bill if only we could agree on one point, namely, the constitution and the representation of the varoius communities on the Board. That was the rock on which we have split and if that question can be satisfactorily settled, the solution of the other problems will easily follow. Now, what is it that so very difficult to get over if we take into consideration solely the constitution of the Board? It is the amount of representation to be given to the various communities What our friends of the Opposition are objecting to is about majority representation being given to Muslims; but what Muslims are objecting to is about majority representation being given to anybody. What the Muslims are contending for is not majority in the Board, not majority anywhere, but equality with the other communities. So long as that is assured, they do not press for anything further.

Now, Sir, supposing the Muslims are in a majority in the Board, supposing the Board is such that the Muslims are in a distinct majority, what is it that our Hindu friends have got to be afraid of? For 150 years they have controlled education in every shape and form; they have controlled primary education, they have controlled secondary education, they have controlled University education. Why not give their brethren of the Muslim community a chance of seeing what they can do with secondary education and primary education and if it is found that they are really mismanaging affairs, then and then will be the time to condemn a Board which is controlled by a majority of Muslims. What right have you to assume that if the Muslims are in a majority in the Board, the secondary education will go by the Board and something very disastrous will happen to the educational system of the province? Have not the Muslims, not merely in India but all over the world, been votaries of learning and done such service to the cause of education of which any nation or any community can be proud? Even in India the Muslim Kings and Emperors have been the patrons of learning, not merely of Muslim learning but also of Hindu learning and culture. Let me remind the House of the story of Sultan Gyasuddin Balban to whom a Brahmin went with a bundle of papers and asked for some kind of reward saying that he had to

marry his daughter and he had no money. He said that he had produced a very learned book on Astronomy and he wanted to present it to the King. Without looking into what it was, the King asked the treasurer to pay two hundred *dinars*, but at last it was found on examination that it was a copy of an almanac which the Brahmin had taken to the King in order to deceive him into believing that it was a big Sanskrit production. But instances like this are not rare. Kings and Emperors have vied with each other in encouraging learning and in those days when there were no universities, the Muslims along with the Hindus did all that they could to satisfy the thirst for learning which was peculiar to the genius of our people and to maintain educational institutions not at public expense but as acts of private charity and merit.

I submit, Sir, that with all these instances before them our friends have nothing to fear even if in the Board there is a majority of Muslim members. But I maintain, Sir, that the Board, if carefully analysed, will show that it is not composed of any majority of Muslims but the Board is composed of various sections, of various representatives, of various interests and the chances may be that sometimes the Hindus may not only preponderate but preponderate in a very effective manner.

Sir, let me make one appeal to my friends of the Opposition. As I have said I am not going to enter into details and give a reply to all the criticisms that have been made. Let me make one earnest appeal to the Leaders of the Opposition not to make much of what I call a bugbear which lies behind this Bill. When I was a child my nurse used to tell me stories of the devil on the tamarind tree (তেঁতুল গাছে ভূত). But when my period of childhood was over and I gained experience I found that although there was a tamarind tree, there was no devil on it. It was only a figment of fancy. Let me also tell my friends on the Opposition that although there is the Secondary Education Bill, there is no devil behind it. There is nothing of which our Hindu friends need be afraid They will find when they analyse the Bill that although it gives some opportunity to the Muslims, it does not take away all opportunities from the members of the Hindu or any other community.

Now, Sir, as regards financial assistance, I may point out that although we, at the present moment, are heavily involved and we do not know what the future has got in store for us and although our resources are nothing but satisfactory, we have provided that this Board will have to begin with Rs. 50 lakhs to be spent every year on secondary education alone and that, if necessary and if finances permit, a larger finance will be given to the Board from time to time. It will depend on the Act to deserve what assistance it should get from the Government. If it goes on satisfactorily, if it works well, if there

is no communal clamour behind the working of the Act and if all the parties, all the sections, all the communities of the country combine to make this Act a success, Government will be too pleased to discharge its obligations in order to put secondary education in the province on a satisfactory basis.

Sir, so far as the Coalition Party is concerned, I can assure the House that they do not wish to dominate to the extent of depriving the other communities of their just rights. If our other communities approach their brethren of the Coalition Party in a spirit of trustfulness, they will find that that trust will not be betrayed. But if the communal colamour is raised, I am afraid, that communal clamour will be met with equally communal clamour. Communalism breeds communalism, and let me put it to all sections of the House that the Muslims have not got the monopoly of communalism; there are others who are more communal than the Muslims. It is therefore best to realise one's own faults and one's own defects. I am not here to give a lecture on the necessity of being non-communal, but I certainly can appeal to all sections of the House to realise that however much may be the defects in the Bill—and as a matter of fact being a human product it cannot claim to be a counsel of perfection—however much may be its defects, however much it may fall short of expectations, an attempt has here been made to place secondary education under the control of an autonomous body where all sections representing different interests in the province are represented, and as I claim, more or less adequately represented. Let us go forward with the best of spirit to work the Bill in order to serve the best interests of education and nothing else. I may remind my friends of the Opposition that this Bill was published on the 1st of August, 1940, introduced in this House on the 22nd August, 1940, more than a year ago and referred to a Select Committee. My friends of the Opposition did not let us have the benefit of their advice, of their co-operation, of their assistance, when the Bill was to be considered in the Select Committee. We waited and waited and waited. We gave them every possible opportunity. We met in January, 1941, but even then we kept the door open for them to come. Even after the Select Committee had completed its labours, we waited and waited, and ultimately we gave them a last chance to let us know on what points they wished to concentrate so far as opposition to the Bill was concerned. Now that we have waited more than a year and a half, I do not see any meaning in referring the Bill again to the same Select Committee and going on and on in a vicious circle, like the proverbial jackass round the Mill. What I will suggest to my friends is this: let us have their suggestions. I can assure them that all reasonable suggestions will be considered and, if possible, accepted by Government. Let us go forward with the Bill and with a will to succeed. It is possible that if we succeed in the constitution

of the Board, we will be able to bring forward an absolutely agreed Bill. But even if we do not agree so far as the constitution of the Board is concerned, there can be no objection on the part of any one to implement those portions on which we can arrive at an agreed settlement. Sir, as I feel the prospect before us, the Bill does not contain much of contentious elements excepting the constitution of the Board; every other provision is capable of being considered in the best spirit and it is possible to come to an agreed settlement on all those points.

I, therefore, submit that although I very much appreciate the objections that have been made to the Bill, I do not find it possible for me to accept the motion now before the House. I am sorry that I feel constrained to oppose this motion. (Applause from the Coalitioin Benches.)

The motion of Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri, by way of amendment, that the Bill be recommitted to the same Select Committee with instructions to make the following amendments and particular and additional provisions, viz.:—

(1) to amend the definition of Secondary Education in such a way as to mean only secular education of that grade and to include technical, agricultural and vocational education [clause 2 (9)];

(2) to recast the constitutions of the Board of Secondary Education (clause 4), the Executive Council (clause 19) and the other Committees on thoroughly academic and non-communal lines deleting all reference to different communities and making definite provisions for representations of managing committees of schools and of other interests such as Agriculture, Engineering, Medicine, Commerce and Teaching on the Board;

(3) to amend the provisions in such a way as to make the Board a completely autonomous body independent of all official and outside control;

(4) to add a clause or clauses laying down the conditions of approval and recognition of schools and the conditions on which grants may be given to them;

(5) to make suitable provision for the protection of the existing high schools by adding a clause to the effect that all the schools enjoying permanent affiliation to the Calcutta University or to the Dacca Secondary Education Board will continue to enjoy permanent recognition by the Board constituted under the Bengal Secondary Education Act;

(6) to make such financial provision as will be sufficient to ensure grants-in-aid to all the existing schools and provide for a scheme of superannuation for the teachers;

(7) to make a definite provision to the effect that the syllabus and curricula of the Entrance Examination to the University whether named as Matriculation Examination, or otherwise should be framed with the approval of the University and the conduct and supervision of the examination should vest in an independent Statutory Committee in case the examination is taken out of the hands of the Calcutta University on payment of full compensation to the said University;

(8) to omit the provision of the Publication Committee and replace it by a Committee for the selection of Text Books for Secondary Schools (clause 25);

(9) to exclude all madrassahs or special institutions meant for particular communities from the purview of the Bengal Secondary Education Bill;

(10) to make the required provision for bringing the Government schools under the control of the Secondary Education Board;

(11) to make suitable provision for bringing the Inspectorate under the full control of the Board as soon as the Board begins to function,

and submit their report by the 31st December, 1941, was then put and a division taken with the following result:—

AYES—56.

Abdul Hakeem, Mr. (Khulna).
Acharyya Choudhury, Maharaja Sashi Kanta, of Muktagacha, Mymensingh.
Banerjee, Mr. Pramatha Nath.
Banerji, Mr. P.
Banerji, Mr. Satya Priya.
Barma, Babu Prombari.
Barma, Mr. Puspajit.
Barman, Babu Shyama Prosad.
Basu, Mr. Santosh Kumar.
Bhawmik, Dr. Gobinda Chandra.
Biswas, Babu Lakshmi Narayan.
Biswas, Mr. Surendra Nath.
Bose, Mr. Sarat Chandra.
Chakraborty, Mr. Jatindra Nath.
Chakraborty, Babu Narendra Narayan.
Chaudhuri, Rai Narendra Nath.
Das, Mr. Monmohan.
Das Gupta, Babu Khagendra Nath.
Das Gupta, Dr. J. M.
Das Gupta, Srijut Narendra Nath.
Deini, Mr. Narendra Nath.
Dutta Gupta, Miss Mira.
Dutta Mazumder, Mr. Niharendu.
Ghose, Mr. Atul Krishna.
Goswami, Mr. Tulsi Chandra.
Gupta, Mr. Jogesh Chandra.
Gupta, Mr. J. N.
Jalan, Mr. I. D.
Khan, Mr. Debendra Lall.
Kumar, Mr. Atul Chandra.
Kundu, Mr. Nishitha Nath.
Majumdar, Mrs. Hemaprova.
Mandal, Mr. Amrita Lall.
Mandal, Mr. Jogendranath.
Mandal, Mr. Krishna Prasad.
Mookerjee, Dr. Syamaprasad.
Mukerjea, Mr. Taraknath, M.B.E.
Mullick, Srijut Ashutosh.
Nasker, Mr. Hem Chandra.
Pain, Mr. Barada Prosanna.
Paul, Sir Harisankar.
Roy, Mr. Charuchandra.
Roy, Mr. Kamalkrishna.
Roy, Mr. Kiran Sankar.
Roy, Mr. Kishori Pati.
Roy, Kshirod Chandra, Rai Bahadur.
Roy, Mr. Manmatha Nath.
Sanyal, Dr. Kalinaksha.
Sanyal, Mr. Sasanka Sekhar.

Sen, Mr. Atul Chandra.
Sen, Jogesh Chandra, Rai Bahadur.
Sen Gupta, Mrs. Nellie.
Sinha, Babu Kshetra Nath.
Sinha, Srijut Manindra Bhusan.
Tapuriah, Moongtu Lall, Rai Bahadur.
Waliur Rahman, Maulvi.

NOES—124.

Abdul Aziz, Maulana Md.
Abdul Hafiz, Mr. Mirza.
Abdul Hafiz, Mr. Mia.
Abdul Hakim, Maulvi (Mymensingh).
Abdul Hakim Vikrampuri, Maulvi Md.
Abdul Hamid, Mr. A. M.
*Abdul Jabbar, Maulvi.
Abdul Kader, Mr. (alias Lal Meah).
Abdul Karim, Mr.
Abdul Majid, Maulvi (Mymensingh).
Abdul Majid, Mr. Syed (Noakhali).
Abdul Motaleb Malik, Dr.
Abdul Wahab Khan, Mr.
Abdulla-Al Mahmood, Mr.
Abdur Rahman, Khan Bahadur A. F. M.
Abdur Rahman Siddiqi, Mr.
Abdur Raschid Mahmood, Mr.
Abdur Rasheed, Maulvi Md.
Abdur Rauf, Khan Bahadur Maulvi S. (Howrah).
Abdur Rauf, Khan Bahadur Shah (Rangpur).
Abdur Razzak, Maulvi.
Abdus Shaheed, Maulvi Md.
Abidur Reza Chowdhury, Khan Bahadur Maulvi.
Abul Fazl, Mr. Md.
Aftab Ali, Mr.
Ahmed Ali Enayetpuri, Khan Bahadur Maulana.
Ahmed Hossain, Mr.
Ahmed Khan, Mr. Syed.
Alfazuddin Ahmed, Khan Bahadur Maulvi.
Aminullah, Khan Sahib Maulvi.
Amir Ali Mia, Maulvi Md.
Anwarul Azim, Khan Bahadur Md.
Ashrafali, Mr. M.
Asimuddin Ahmed, Mr.
Azhar Ali, Maulvi.
Badruddeja, Mr. Syed.
Barat Ali, Mr. Md.
Birkmyre, Sir Henry, Bart.
Biswas, Mr. Rasik Lal.
Clark, Mr. I. A.
Das, Mr. Anukul Chandra.
Das, Rai Sahib Kirit Bhusan.
Dass, Babu Debendra Nath.
Edbar, Mr. Upendranath.
Farhad Raza Chowdhury, Mr. M.
Farhat Bano Khanam, Begum.
Fazlul Huq, the Hon'ble Mr. A. K.
Fazlul Quadir, Khan Bahadur Maulvi.
Fazlur Rahman, Mr. (Dacca).
Fazlur Rahman, Mr. (Mymensingh).
Giasuddin Ahmed, Mr.
Gladding, Mr. D., C. I. E.
Gyasuddin Ahmed Chaudhury, Alhadj.
Habibullah, the Hon'ble Nawab Bahadur K., of Dacca.
Haddow, Mr. R. R.
Hafizuddin Choudhuri, Maulvi.
Hamilton, Mr. K. A.
Hasan Ali Chowdhury, Mr. Syed.
Hasanuzzaman, Maulvi Md.
Hashem Ali Khan, Khan Bahadur Maulvi.
Hasina Murshed, Mrs., M. B. E.
Hatemally Jamadar, Khan Sahib Maulvi.
Hawkings, Mr. R. J.
Haywood, Mr. Rogers.
Hendry, Mr. David.
Hodge, Mr. H. R.
Idris Ahmed Mia, Maulvi.
Jalaluddin Ahmad, Khan Bahadur Maulvi.
Jalaluddin Hashemy, Mr. Syed.
Jonab Ali Majumdar, Maulvi.
Kabiruddin Khan, Khan Bahadur Maulvi.
Kazem Ali Mirza, Sahibzada Kawan Jah Syed.
Kennedy, Mr. I. G.
McGregor, Mr. G. G.
Mafizuddin Ahmed, Maulvi (Tippera).
Mandal, Mr. Banku Behari.
Mandal, Mr. Birat Chandra.
Mandal, Mr. Jagat Chandra.
Maniruddin Akhand, Maulvi.
Maqbul Hosain, Mr.
Miles, Mr. C. W.
Mohammed Ali, Khan Bahadur.
Morgan, Mr. G., C.I.E.
Moslem Ali Mollah, Maulvi M.
Mozammel Huq, Maulvi Md.
Muhammad Afzal, Khan Bahadur Maulvi Syed.
Muhammad Ibrahim, Maulvi.
Muhammad Siddique, Khan Bahadur Dr. Syed.
Muhammad Solaiman, Khan Bahadur Maulvi.
Mullick, the Hon'ble Mr. Mukunda Behary.
Mullick, Mr. Pulin Behary.
Musharruff Hosain, the Hon'ble Nawab, Khan Bahadur.
Mustagawsal Haque, Mr. Syed.
Nasarullah, Nawabzada K.
Nazimuddin, the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir, K.C.I.E.
Norton, Mr. H. R.
Pettinger, Mr. G. U.
Rahman, Khan Bahadur A. M. L.
Raikut, the Hon'ble Mr. Prasanna Deb.
Ramizuddin Ahmed, Mr.
Roy, Mr. Dhananjoy.
Roy, Mr. Patiram.
Sadaruddin Ahmed, Mr.
Safiruddin Ahmed, Haji.
Sahebe Alam, Mr. Syed.
Salim, Mr. S. A.
Sanaullah, Dr.
Sarkar, Babu Madhusudan.
Serajul Islam, Mr.
Shahabuddin, Mr. Khwaja, C.B.E.
Shahedali, Mr.
Shamsuddin Ahmed, Mr. M.
Shamsuddin Ahmed Khondkar, Mr.
Sirdar, Babu Litta Munda.
Spelter, Mr. J. H.
Smith, Mr. H. Brabent.

Stark, Mr. A. F.
Steven, Mr. J. W. R.
Suhrawardy, the Hon'ble Mr. H. S.
Tamizuddin Khan, the Hon'ble Mr.
Walker, Mr. J. R.
Walker, Mr. W. A. M.
Yousuf Mirza.
Yusuf Ali Choudhury, Mr.

The Ayes being 56 and the Noes 124 the motion was lost.

The motion of the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq that the Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1940, as reported by the Select Committee, be taken into consideration, was then put and agreed to.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: You are aware, Sir, that there is lunar eclipse to-morrow and it is the desire of a large section of this House that there should not be any sitting to-morrow.

Mr. SPEAKER: Is there any objection to that?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: No objection, Sir.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 7-52 p.m. till 4-45 p.m. on Monday, the 8th September, 1941, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

B. G. Press—1941-42—7287A—695.

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(Official Report.)

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B. G. Press—1941-42—8976A—695.